

# The Review of English Studies

VOL. XVIII.—No. 72.

OCTOBER, 1942

## NASHE'S 'KID IN ÆSOP':

A DANISH INTERPRETATION BY V. ØSTERBERG

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR. *In the Introduction to my edition of Hamlet, 1934, I made a brief reference to an important little book (Studier over Hamlet-Teksterne, by V. Østerberg, Copenhagen, 1920), but have not come upon any mention of it in English publications since, perhaps because Danish is not a language commonly known to Shakespearian scholars in Britain and America. Naturally, I was not able to do full justice to the author's arguments in 1934, even though my remarks were mainly confined to one section of the book, and I have long felt that it would be of service to English scholarship if someone would go to the trouble of translating the whole volume, which is only seventy-five pages long. This feeling became a strong desire when a few years ago I had a student working at Hamlet in the English Department of the University of Edinburgh, and in order to assist him I made a rough translation, perhaps it would be safer to call it a paraphrase, of what seemed to me the most significant pages of the book (7-15), those dealing with the famous passage in Nashe's 'Epistle' to Greene's Menaphon, and its much discussed relationship with the pre-Shakespearian Hamlet. A short time ago this English rendering was returned by the student for whom it was made, and it occurred to me that it might possibly be of use to students in other universities. I sent it, therefore, to the Editor of The Review of English Studies with the warning that the translation was a free one, and he has consented to print it. I hope I have been able to reproduce the gist of Lektor Østerberg's arguments with sufficient fidelity for general purposes, and that at any rate what follows will serve to draw the attention of English scholars to this valuable book. I should add that, in these unhappy times, I have not found it possible to obtain consent to this piece of literary piracy. If the knowledge of it reaches his ears and induces him to give us an English version of the whole book, as he is very well able to do, I shall be amply rewarded for these small pains. Meanwhile, perhaps he will*

*accept them as a slight but sincere tribute to his scholarship and to the greatness of his country to which we who speak English owe the Hamlet story and so much besides.*

J. DOVER WILSON.

The history of the English *Hamlet* begins with a well-known passage in Thomas Nashe's 'Epistle' to Greene's novel, *Menaphon*.<sup>1</sup> Nashe's words (in particular, 'whole Hamlets . . . of tragical speeches') prove beyond question that the Hamlet theme had been the subject of some literary production which was then attracting public notice. But the reference is itself only one link in a series of allusions, the meaning of which is difficult to interpret, and the problem of the nature and authorship of this oldest *Hamlet* has been canvassed for over a century.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, it is held that Nashe refers certainly to a *drama* on Hamlet and probably to Thomas Kyd as its author (e.g. Sarrazin: *Kyd und sein Kreis*, 1892 and Boas: *Works of Kyd*, 1901); and this view is now fairly common. On the other hand, it is stoutly maintained that Nashe's words are scarcely sufficient to prove his knowledge of a Hamlet-drama, or at any rate, even if the existence of a drama be admitted, that they throw no light upon the question of authorship. This last is the opinion of McKerrow, the foremost authority on Nashe. If it were possible to decide the matter, one way or the other, the decision would play no small part in determining the relations between the 1603 and the 1604 texts; and I believe such a decision is possible.

The portions of the passage most often quoted are misleading when taken out of their context. Even when read as a whole, the passage cannot be fully understood; it must be seen in conjunction with the surrounding paragraphs. Nashe's 'Epistle to the Gentlemen Students' is a long self-contained satirical discussion of existing literary conditions. Only incidentally does it stand as an introduction to *Menaphon*; and it finishes up with an unblushing piece of advertisement for another of Nashe's writings, the *Anatomy of Absurdity*, which is announced as imminent. This book, which can be described as a pendent or sequel to the 'Epistle', was entered in the S.R. 19 September 1588, and printed in 1589.

In the 'Epistle' Nashe scoffs at the spread of a superficial culture which was being picked up by the half-educated from the players, who pleasantly thundering forth their bragging lines were less to be

<sup>1</sup> Entered S.R., 23 August 1589.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliographies of the past and present writings on the subject may be found in Furness's *Variorum Hamlet*, II, and in McKerrow's ed. of Nashe, IV, 452.

blamed than those who taught them, viz. the tragic dramatists, who embodied their bombastic visions in rumbling blank verse. In particular, he names certain unlearned satirists. The expressions he employs, which remind one of Greene's outburst in the preface to *Perimedes*, 1588, and the dedicatory verses to *Menaphon* by a certain Brabine, show that it is popular melodrama which is the object of attack. After a sarcastic reference to the dependence of such dramatists upon translations, Nashe takes leave of them, and, having paid Greene a brief compliment on his versatility and quickness of wit, which he contrasts with the borrowed and laboured trifles of others, he passes on to discourse of the shoddy style of contemporary literature and the thinness of its content, and of a public which takes dust for gold and delights in twaddle and shallow polemic. He then touches upon theological considerations in connexion with the Martin Marprelate controversy; and it is at this point that the crucial passage begins. It opens:—

But least I might seeme with these night crowes *nimis curiosus in aliena republica*, I'll turne back to my first text of studies of delight, and talk a little in friendship with a few of our trivial translators.

Thus a realisation that he has wandered from his theme leads the author to remark that his 'text' was, and is once again to be, belless-lettres, and that he will now consider, particularly, certain *translators*. What follows runs:—

It is a common practise now a dayes amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery Art and thrue by none, to leaue the trade of *Nouerint*, whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuours of Art, that could scarcely Latinize their necke verse if they shoulde haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by Candlelight yeelds many good sentences, as *Blood is a begger*, and so forth; and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, hee will affoord you whole Hamlets, I should say handfult of Tragical speeches. But O grieffe! *Tempus edax rerum*, whats that will last alwayes? The Sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance bee drie, and *Seneca*, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needes die to our Stage; which makes his famished followers to imitate the Kid in *Æsop*, who, enamoured with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a newe occupation; and these men, renouncing all possibilities of credite or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian Translations: Wherein how poorely they haue plodded (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor are able to distinguish of Articles) let all indifferent Gentlemen that haue trauelled in that tongue discern by their two-pennie Pamphlets. (McKerrow, *Nashe* III, 315.25–316.12).

Apart from various flourishes, this constitutes a coherent unity, inasmuch as, in a fashion already foreshadowed by Nashe, it leads

up to a satirical attack upon the translators. The thread that runs through the whole is the description of *how it has come about* that these unqualified persons have become translators; of how in the sordid struggle for daily bread they had tried various occupations, but in the end with the exhaustion of their means had been forced to resort to dabbling in translation from Italian prose. That this last is the meaning of 'intermeddle with Italian translations' and not for instance, as is sometimes supposed, that the writers concerned have made use of someone else's translations from the Italian, is made perfectly clear from Nashe's appeal to skilled linguists. In what follows he further enlarges upon the literary (and personal?) poverty of his victims:—

And no maruell though their home borne mediocritie bee such in this matter; for what can bee hoped of those that thrust *Elisium* into hell, and haue not learned, so long as they haue liued in the Spheres, the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter? Sufficeth them to bodge vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands, and otherwhile for recreation after their Candlestufte, hauing starched their beards most curiously, to make a Peripateticall path into the inner parts of the Citie, and spend two or three howers in turning ouer French *Dowdie*, where they attract more infection in one minute, then they can do eloquence all daies of their life, by conuersing with any Authors of like argument. But lest in this declamatorie veine, I should condemne all and commend none, I will propound to your learned imitation those men of import that haue laboured with credite in this laudable kind of Translation; In the forefront of whom I cannot but place that aged father *Erasmus*, that inuested most of our Greek writers in the robes of the ancient Romanes . . . (McKerrow, *Nashe*, III, 316. 13-31).

The connecting thread still holds since Nashe, having disposed of the former 'sort', now speaks of '*this* laudable kind of translation', and contrasts with the 'trivial translators' those who have 'laboured with credit'. The theme is now followed diffusely and with digressions. There is much talk of ancient and modern translators, together with other authors, while a variety of different matters are touched upon. It need only be noted here that towards the end of the 'Epistle' Nashe names George Peele with high praise, in particular connexion with his play *The Arraignment of Paris*, and that he thereafter continues:—

Sundry other sweete Gentlemen I doe know, that haue vaunted their pennes in priuate deuices, and tricked vp a company of taffety fooles with their feathers, whose beauty if our Poets had not peecte with the supply of their periwigs, they might haue antickt it vntill this time vp and downe the Countrey with the King of Fairies, and dined euery day at the pease porredge ordinary with *Delfrigus*. But *Tolossa* hath forgotten that it was



sometime sacked, and beggars that euer they carried their fardels on footback . . . (McKerrow, *Nashe*, III, 323.33-324.8).

The historical significance of the 'noverint' passage depends first of all on how we interpret the words 'which makes his [Seneca's] famisht followers to imitate *the Kid in Æsop*' etc. The question is (i) whether Nashe has 'quite naturally' (v. McKerrow IV, 449-450) chosen to make use of a well-known fable to *illustrate* a point in his argument, as he himself and other writers of the age continually do, in which case it may be pure chance that this particular fable is concerned with a kid; or (ii) whether the comparison is introduced *in order* to provide a subtle gibe at a writer of the name of Kid, in which case it must be Thomas Kyd who is aimed at. Here are the facts:

- (a) There is to be found in the contemporary collections of Æsopic fables (acc. to McKerrow, IV, 449) no story which in the least resembles Nashe's. The tale of the Fox and the Kid or Goat, which is generally met with in Æsop, has quite a different point.
- (b) In Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579) there occurs under 'May' a story (as was first pointed out by Koepfel, *Eng. Stud.* 18) of a buck-kid, who in spite of his mother's warning lets in a Fox disguised as a poor pedlar. It does so moved partly by pity and partly by desire for a mirror which the Fox holds up, and finally, stooping to take a toy out of the Fox's basket, is entrapped in the basket, carried off and eaten up. Among other expressions in the poem is one containing the words 'a glass . . . Wherein, while Kiddy unawares did look, He was so enamoured with the newell, That' etc. The moral of the tale is 'to show how dangerous it is to have any communication with bad company'.
- (c) No other possible source for Nashe's 'illustration' has been suggested.

Now, suppose that Nashe has fathered a fable of his own invention on to Æsop, and the matter is settled: an allusion to Kyd is then obvious. The same result follows if, as Sarrazin suggests (v. his *Kyd* p. 100), Nashe, making use of a story about a Monkey who grudges the Fox his handsome coat and brush, has substituted a Kid for the Monkey. The most reasonable explanation, however, is that Nashe has Spenser's poem in mind, because of the verbal similarity in the phrases 'enamoured with the . . . newfangles' and 'enamoured with

the newell'; while the attribution of the fable to Æsop is, in itself, natural enough. It comes down to this then: *do Nashe's words about the 'famisht followers of Seneca', altogether apart from the question of an allusion to Kyd, make us think of Spenser's fable or at any rate suggest that that story might serve as an illustration for them? If the answer is in the negative, then the story must have been chosen because the name Kyd was already in Nashe's mind.*

Nashe's line of thought is that certain needy individuals, having tried their hand at a little of everything without success, are at last driven to extremities through lack of means. The fable, on the other hand, describes an empty-headed little animal, who out of pity and curiosity forgets the warnings he has received and in childish delight at the glittering toy allows himself to be led astray by cunning wickedness. The Kid forsakes safety and security, and so comes to destruction. The famished writers are driven to seek a way of escape from indigence; and it is exhaustion of their resources that drives them on. Motive and upshot are fundamentally different in the two accounts; and the image of the dilapidated literators is of *itself* in no way connected with the picture of a naïve, frivolous, inquisitive greenhorn. That the two were as a matter of fact irreconcilable even by Nashe is proved by the fact that he is obliged to *resort to a subterfuge in order to combine them*. He tells us that 'the Kid in Æsop . . . forsook all hopes of life to leap into a new occupation'; words that can reasonably only refer to the Kid; mark too that the verb is, at this point alone, in the preterite. Yet not for a moment does the Kid in Spenser show any sign of 'forsaking all hopes of life', still less of 'leaping'; and nothing can be further removed from his story than the idea of 'leaping into a new occupation'. Yet this forcing of the analogy is essential in order to forge a link between Nashe's satirical observation and Spenser's fable. And even after the heel has been thus trimmed and the toe slit, the shoe makes a poor fit.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The grammatical construction runs: 'which makes his famisht followers to imitate . . . and these men . . . to intermeddle with', seeing that 'these men' plainly repeats 'his famisht followers', and is added because after the long parenthesis we might easily forget what the whole thing is about (cf. Nashe, *Anatomy of Abnrdity*, McKerrow I, 36, 'the cormorants of our age, *who* as the Chamelion which is fed with the ayre, stands alwaies with his mouth wide open, so *these men* which liue vpon almes haue alwaies their mouthes open to aske'). It appears to me both unwarrantable and misleading to quote the passage as if it ran 'which makes his famisht followers leape into a new occupation' (as for example Simpson does in *New Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1875-76, and Boas in *Kyd* p. lxii). With the construction 'forsooke . . . to leape' cf. *Euphues* II, 'I would not forsake him to haue thee'; Bond's *Lyly* (I, p. 513) "Crates forsooke his possessions to buye an heritage in Philosophie"; Nashe (McKerrow III, 360.5) 'who forsooke the true seruice of God,

Now, the only possible explanation of the deliberate choice and distortion of this fable of the Kid is that Nashe needed the fable in order to make a sneering reference to the man Kyd; and the way he converts it to serve his purpose corresponds precisely with his mannerisms elsewhere, despite what some have urged to the contrary. When in 1592 (*Pierce Penilesse*) he expresses annoyance because persons have interpreted his sentence 'saith to the Knight of the Post, I pray *how* might I call you', as aimed at a real man of the name of Howe, his annoyance sounds a little suspicious. At all events we see that in 1589 Nashe was fond of 'burying' personal names in quibbles. In his *Anatomy of Absurdity* (v. above) we have the following:

- (i) 'Therefore see how farre they swerue from their purpose, who with *Greene* colours seeke to garnish such Gorgonlike shapes'.
- (ii) . . . 'other men's furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholike imaginations, pretending to *anatomize abuses* and *stubbe vp sin* by the rootes'. The first of these contains a highly probable (perhaps not unfriendly) reference to Robert Greene; the second an absolutely certain gibe at Philip Stubbes, author of the *Anatomy of Abuses*. Inasmuch as Nashe's *Absurdity* and the 'Epistle' to *Menaphon* are contemporaneous, and are of the same pattern both in matter and style, the presence of covert name-allusions in the one strengthens the theory of their occurrence in the other.

Seeing, then, that there is no plausible connexion between Seneca's followers and the Kid; that a violent distortion is required to apply the pseudo-Æsopian 'illustration', although puns upon names run lightly from Nashe's pen elsewhere; and in any case that the phrase in question affords no meaning apart from a personal allusion—we are in a position to claim it for certain as pointing to Thomas Kyd.

With regard to the references to Seneca, the following considerations are relevant: Nashe declares that a certain group of writers have exhausted Seneca and have in consequence gone in for cheap translation. Now when an author descends to a level of literary activity lower than that which he has hitherto trodden, the professional satirist will naturally insinuate that he has done so because his old resources are exhausted; though it does not at all necessarily follow that this is the case. In this instance, therefore, Nashe may be to worship the idol of Warwicke'; Nashe (McKerrow I, 31) 'they forsake sounder Artes, to follow smoother eloquence, not unlike to Æsop's Cocke'. The last quotation shows, incidentally, that had it been only the craving for novelty which Nashe wished to illustrate from Æsop, he had a far simpler way of making use of him.

exaggerating, and in all probability is doing so. When, on the other hand, he states that Seneca is bled line by line etc., and therefore at last dies to the stage, this strong way of putting things is simply occasioned by something that is assumed or implied, viz. the actual manner in which the historical Seneca died. Nashe could not resist the temptation to make use of this jest in his flyting, and *for that reason alone* the cases of imitation or borrowing he speaks of inevitably become mortal blood-letting. There is nothing more in it than that. All we can be sure of is that 'certain persons' had taken Seneca to some extent as their model; to what extent, Nashe's words do not tell us.

But since the using-up of Seneca stands as one example of that transitoriness of things which, with a 'But, O grief!', is connected with what goes before, what goes before must itself turn upon the *use* of Seneca; it is Seneca, then, who utters 'many good sentences' and 'handfulls of tragicall speeches'. This Seneca is called 'English Seneca', by which of course a book must be meant, not a person, seeing that it is '*read* by candle light'. It is difficult to imagine what this book can be other than the collection of translations of Seneca's tragedies which was published in 1581. The said book, whence come the 'many sentences' and 'tragical speeches', is represented as the resort of these ill-seen in Latin: 'could scarce latinize . . . yet English Seneca etc.'. But this use of 'English Seneca' and the borrowing therefrom of 'handfulls of tragical speeches' can only have taken place in connexion with dramatic composition; one does not borrow handfulls of tragical speeches for use in translation; what should one do with them when one is tied to the text before one? Moreover, if dramatic composition be not in question here, all this talk of 'a new occupation' is left in the air. When, then, Nashe, who has passed general remarks upon plays and players elsewhere in the 'Epistle' (v. above), introduces an allusion to drama in a passage which is mainly concerned with translators, the simple explanation is that he desires to examine the past of certain translators who had had, as it happens, to do with Seneca. *The existence of a Hamlet drama of the Senecan type is thus indisputable.* Otherwise Nashe could not possibly have hit upon the expression 'whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls'.

It is certain, therefore, that the oldest *Hamlet* drama and Thomas Kyd are named in the same context. Logically speaking, their absolute conjunction must be pronounced doubtful, seeing that Nashe employs the plural gender and so allows us to suppose that the *Hamlet*

might belong to one of the 'sort of shifting companions' other than Kyd. But the plural ('certain persons') is common form in attacks upon single individuals; Nashe uses it again in his treatment of Philip Stubbes (v. the passage quoted above)<sup>1</sup> He takes care too to press forward with firm and steady aim. At the beginning of the 'Noverint' sally he has Italian translations already before his eyes; it would be strange if even two, to say nothing of more, translators from the Italian had started with the same initial employment. In life it happens very seldom indeed that the careers of different men coincide as exactly as would be involved in the various details mentioned by Nashe. They *all* suit Kyd; can it be doubted that Kyd is the man meant all the time?

The term 'noverint' (-maker) is indeed often used as a contemptuous designation for any unqualified scribbler; but 'born to the trade' implies a special condition. Kyd's father was a scrivener. Many authors allowed themselves to borrow from Seneca; but why on that account should one be called an indifferent Latin scholar? The most perfect specimen of plagiarism from Seneca, *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587), was written by a university man. Kyd, however, was not a university man, so that an imputation of faulty Latinity is apposite and sounds plausible. His borrowing from Seneca can be illustrated from *The Spanish Tragedy*; his interest in Garnier points in the same direction. Even the mysterious 'Blood is a beggar' is perhaps most obviously traceable to Kyd. The phrase is not found in Seneca (original or translated), nor in Garnier; but it is clear that the person attacked has used it, and Nashe insinuates, possibly against his own knowledge of the facts, that it is borrowed. Now the phrase is strikingly characteristic of Kyd. No other writer of the age except Kyd so frequently makes his verbs out of the auxiliary *to be* plus a substantive signifying action of some kind, while with *blood* as its subject this construction, as far as I am aware, is to be found in Kyd alone. His extant productions are few in number and small in quantity, but he is a *great repeater of himself*. It is therefore noteworthy that *John Brewen* (1592), which on both external and strong internal (linguistic) evidence may be reckoned as certainly written by Kyd, contains the words 'blood is an incessant crier'. In the old play, *Richard III*, first printed in 1594 and therefore not previously subject to plagiarism, we find 'blood is a threatner'; and this piece

<sup>1</sup> Østerberg: text reads 'Kyd' here, but 'han' (=he) or 'Nashe' is clearly intended.

has many indisputable links with Kyd. On this matter I may refer the reader to my Notes at the end of this book, in which I also deal with the other allusions in Nashe's 'Epistle.' Lastly, on the question of Italian translations Boas has thrown a strong light in his discovery of the translation from Tasso, which appeared in 1588 under the title of *The Householders Philosophy* by T.K.

After all this, as it seems to me, the theory of another than Kyd as the author of the old *Hamlet* becomes absurd. *Kyd's authorship must be accepted as a fact*, and we then have a firm basis for our enquiries concerning Shakespeare's relationship with his predecessor.

The earliest possible date for this *Hamlet* is 1588. Nashe's 'Epistle' mentions the Marprelate Controversy, which began in November 1588, together with a book (Newton's *Leland*) belonging to 1589; *Menaphon* was entered in the *S.R.* on 23 August 1589. The 'Epistle' was therefore written between these points of time. The play was certainly at that date of topical interest. In his *Absurdity* (*S.R.*, 19 September 1588) Nashe makes no reference to Kyd; nor does Greene in his *Perimedes* (*S.R.*, 29 March 1588), which for the rest contains violent attacks upon dramatists of the moment.

As sources of the drama we can with certainty name Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* (either in the original or translation; we have the *Historie of Hamblet* in a separate translation from 1608), and Seneca, especially his *Agamemnon*. But since the play does not exist, the relation with its sources can only be examined indirectly, namely by means of the Shakespearian texts.



## THE TEXT OF THE PARNASSUS PLAYS

By J. B. LEISHMAN

For some years I had been preparing an elaborate edition of the three Parnassus Plays, acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, between Christmas 1598-99 and Christmas 1601-2, when, about two years ago, I succeeded in locating what, on the principle *de non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio*, I may call the long-lost Halliwell-Phillipps MS. of the Second Part of *The Returne from Parnassus*. Since, therefore, on the one hand, I am now in a position to offer, what has not yet appeared, a detailed description of all the existing MSS. and texts of these plays, to consider the relationship between them, and, in describing how I propose to edit them, to raise certain problems and to propound certain principles that may be of general interest to Elizabethan scholars, and since, on the other hand, the appearance of my edition is likely to be long-delayed, the Editor has kindly suggested that an article on the subject would be acceptable to many readers of this *Review*. Although I have already completed a first draft of my Commentary and of my text, I have, nevertheless, in that portion of my article where, after having described the MSS. and texts, I describe how I propose to edit them, employed the future tense rather than the past; if, however, through often writing, for the sake of brevity, 'I shall', rather than, more modestly and tentatively, 'I propose to', or 'I think it would, on the whole, be advisable to', I may still, at times, seem to speak too positively and dogmatically, I beg to assure the reader that my opinions are not fixed nor my intentions immutable, and that I shall be very willing to allow more expert judgments to amend them.

### THE RAWLINSON MS.

The MS. of *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and of the First Part of *The Returne from Parnassus* is preserved in one of Thomas Hearne's volumes of miscellaneous MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D398. It consists of twenty folio leaves (besides one outer leaf),

numbered 200-220, and was evidently written by a rather careless copyist. The stage-directions, ascriptions, most (though not all) of the Latin phrases, and an occasional song-title or maxim are written in an Italian hand and in red ink, which in places has faded to such a degree that it is now almost illegible. The scribe differs from the normal practice both of the writers of the Secretary hand and of the printers of the period in employing *v* medially as well as initially, although he often employs medial *u* as well. His use of the common Secretary abbreviation of final *-es* follows no consistent principle; he often uses it as a mere equivalent of *-s* in such words as 'its', where final *-e* would be almost impossible. It is, therefore, something of a problem to know when to print *-s* and when to print *-es*: the best solution has seemed to me to print *-es* in all cases where it is not obviously impossible or unlikely. There are certain peculiarities of spelling, of which the most remarkable are the substitution of 'the' or 'y' for 'they' and of 'they' for 'the', the omission of final *-e* in words ending in *-ce*, such as 'onc', 'fenc', 'henc', the spelling 'wantom(e)' for 'wanton', and (although this is less uncommon) the spellings 'beautuous' and 'plentuus',—all of them peculiarities which recur neither in the MS. nor printed texts of the Second Part of *The Returne from Parnassus*. In the verse passages initial capitals are infrequently and capriciously used, sometimes appearing only in the first line of a long speech; and throughout, in the use of italics (indicated by red ink), capitals, and contractions there is much caprice and inconsistency. In the verse passages punctuation is very light, and often entirely absent for many lines at a stretch; in the prose passages it is also light, and often irrational. Since most of these features are common, in varying degrees, to the MS. and printed texts of the *Second Returne*, I will reserve a more detailed description of them until I come to explain the principles that have guided my editing.

On the outer leaf of the Rawlinson MS. is the name of 'Edmund Rishton, Lancastrensis', presumably the owner. He matriculated as a sizar from St. John's about 1595, proceeded B.A. in 1598-99 and M.A. in 1602.

#### THE HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS MS.

While the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodley's Librarian, who discovered the Rawlinson MS., was preparing the edition of all three plays

which he published in 1886, he was allowed to make use of a MS. of the *Second Returne* which J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps had purchased at the Towneley Sale in 1883, and which he thus described in his *Brief Notices of a Small Number of the Shakespeare Rarities, etc.*, 1885, No. 38, and *A Calendar of the Shakespeare Rarities, Drawings and Engravings, Preserved at Hollingbury Copse, Near Brighton*, 1887, No. 37:

A manuscript of *The Return from Parnassus*, "as it was acted in St. John's Colledge in Cambridge, anno 1602."—This is the only manuscript of the time of Elizabeth in a private library in which any of the works of Shakespeare are mentioned. It is of great interest and literary value as the record of a more accurate text than the hitherto only known early copy, the edition of 1606. The title in the manuscript is 'the Progresse to Parnassus', the reason for the adoption of either title being obscure.—4to.

After Halliwell-Phillipps's death no scholar, so far as I am aware, showed much curiosity about the MS. or attempted to trace it, and all my own efforts were unsuccessful until, in December, 1940, Mr. H. M. Cashmore, City Librarian of Birmingham, kindly drew my attention to an entry in S. de Ricci's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in United States and Canada*, 1935 (vol. 1, 448. 12), which revealed that its present location was the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. My request for photostats was immediately and courteously granted by the Director, and, through the generous co-operation of the Reference Librarian, Mr. Giles E. Dawson, who devoted much time and pains both to this matter and to the answering of various enquiries, they eventually reached me, after two sets had been lost through enemy action.

The MS. consists of twenty-four small leaves (20 × 15 cm.), which have at some time been cut down by a binder, without, however, impairing the text, which is only totally illegible at the foot of the first page, where the bottom margin seems to have chipped off as the result of having suffered from damp. It is bound in late eighteenth-century half-calf with marbled boards, and in 1795 belonged to one J. Symonds, of Gray's Inn, from whom, apparently, it passed into the possession of John Towneley, whose bookplate it bears. On the fly-leaf Halliwell-Phillipps has written the following note, which is worth transcribing:

I purchased this manuscript at the Towneley Sale at Sotheby's, June 20th, 1883. Lot 122. J. O. H.-P

My commission for it to Mr. Pearson of Pall Mall was no less than forty guineas, but no one at the sale understood its value, and it was

bought for £7 15 0. It is a most valuable contemporary copy, probably under what was the original title, of the *Return from Parnassus*, 1601, with very important variations in one of the interesting notices of Shakespeare.

In his will Halliwell-Phillipps directed that his collection of 'Rarities', which was not to be dispersed, should first be offered to the City of Birmingham for £7000; this offer, however, was refused, the collection was later sold for a larger sum to an American, and was eventually acquired by Henry Folger.

At the head of the first page the play is described as 'The progresse to Parnassus as it was acted in S<sup>t</sup> Iohns Colledge in Cambridge An<sup>o</sup> 1601': the fact that Halliwell-Phillipps, in his descriptions of the MS. in the *Calendar* and elsewhere, persistently misquoted the date as 'Anno 1602', can only be explained on the assumption that he had accepted Arber's suggestion that the first performance took place in January, 1601-2 rather than in December, 1601. Why he should have assumed that 'The progresse to Parnassus' was probably the original title I cannot understand, neither can I myself offer any explanation<sup>1</sup> of this title, which seems to me a complete misnomer: the 'progress' or 'pilgrimage' of Philomusus and Studioso to a university degree is described only in the first of the three plays; the other two describe their 'return' from this height and their attempts, and those of their companions, to earn a living in an unappreciative world.

The MS. is written in a Secretary hand which differs considerably from that of the Rawlinson MS. Medial *v* is used regularly throughout, and not, as in the Rawlinson MS., interchanged with medial *u*, and the Secretary abbreviation for *-es*, so frequently and capriciously employed in that MS., is used very seldom, if at all. Italics, as in the Rawlinson MS., are represented by an Italian hand, but are not, as there, written in red ink, and, except in act and scene divisions and stage-directions, are very seldom employed, even in Latin quotations. Each verse line begins with a capital letter, but otherwise there is the

<sup>1</sup> Unless, indeed, 'the progresse to Parnassus' is a corruption of 'the progresse from Parnassus', under which title 'the last parte of the returne from Pernassus' (l. 47) may well have continued to be known until, when it came to be printed, the alternative title, *The Returne from Pernassus: Or The Scourge of Simony*, was adopted. Ll. 7: -81 (verse-prologue) certainly seem to suggest that the three plays were originally known as, respectively, the *Pilgrimage*, the *Return*, and the *Progress*:

In Schollers fortunes twise forlorne and dead  
Twise hath our weary pen earst laboured,  
Making them Pilgrims to Pernassus hill,  
Then penning their returne with ruder quill.  
Now we present vnto each pitying eye  
The schollers progresse in their miserye.

same inconsistency in the use of capitals as in the Rawlinson MS. and in the quartos of 1606. The punctuation of the verse passages, as in the Rawlinson MS., is very light, but the prose passages are, in general, very much more carefully and intelligently punctuated than in either that MS. or in the quartos.

The very important textual differences between the MS. and the quartos will be considered after those have been described.

## THE QUARTOS OF 1606

Until Macray's discovery of the MS. of the *Pilgrimage* and the *First Returne*, the only one of the plays which had appeared in print was the last of the trilogy, the *Second Returne*. It was thus entered in the Stationers' Register:

## 16. OCTOBRIS (1605)

John Wright: Entred for his copy vnder th[e h]andes of master OWEN GWYN and the wardens An. Enterlude called. *The retourne from Pernassus or the scourge of Simony* publicly Acted by the studentes in Saint Johns College in Cambridg[e] vj<sup>d</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Two editions were published in 1606, with identical title-pages, but with considerable variations in the text. Copies of both are preserved in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library, that of the first edition being No. 207, that of the second No. 224 (4). The title-page of both editions is as follows:

The / Returne From / Pernassus: / Or / The Scourge of Simony. / Publicly acted by the Studentes / in Saint Johns Colledge in / Cambridge. / (Ornament) / At London / Printed by G. Eld, for Iohn Wright, and / are to bee sold at his shop at / Christ church Gate. / 1606. /

*First Edition (Malone 207), here referred to as A.*

Collation: 4<sup>o</sup>: A-H4, I: 33 leaves, unnumbered.

Contents: A1, title; A2-I<sup>v</sup>, text.<sup>2</sup>

*Second Edition (Malone 224 (4)), here referred to as B.*

Collation: 4<sup>o</sup>: A-H4: 32 leaves, unnumbered.

Contents: A1, title; A2-H4<sup>v</sup>, text.

<sup>1</sup> Arber, III, 304.

<sup>2</sup> There is also in the Malone Collection (although it never belonged to Malone) a second copy of A, Malone Q 14, which contains, after the text, an extra blank leaf. It is unfortunate that both Arber's reprint (*English Scholar's Library*, No. 6, 1879) and Farmer's facsimile (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*, 1912) are from the British Museum copy of B, 161. a. 65. A facsimile of A is a *desideratum*, which, it is to be hoped, the Malone Society will one day be able to supply.

B differs from A, not only in make-up, but in several other particulars, all of which seem to indicate that it is a later edition. The arrangement of the matter on the page is frequently improved by spacing and by the addition of the speaker's name, where this has been omitted, and there is a general tendency to normalize spelling: *e.g.*, of what are now archaic uses of *y*, *-ie*, and *-ye*, such as 'scurvie', 'payre', 'miserye', 'prayses', B (I give the results of a rough count) normalizes 83, retains 70, and introduces 14, making no change after l. 1619. With regard to errors, major and minor, it is very much the usual story: B corrects 32, but introduces 27.

The fact that there are nearly sixty errors, or possible errors, which may be explained as the result of *-s*, *-es*, *-e* confusion may perhaps be taken to indicate that the printer's copy was in a hand at least similar to that of the Rawlinson MS., where, as has already been observed, the Secretary abbreviation of *-es* is very capriciously employed, and where it is often almost impossible to decide whether final (short) *-s* or final *-e* is intended. It is also, perhaps, worth recording that both cardinal and ordinal numbers are nearly always, as in the Rawlinson MS., represented by Arabic numerals, and not, as in the Halliwell-Phillipps MS., written out in full. On the other hand, the peculiar spellings I have noticed in my description of the Rawlinson MS. do not recur.

Not only does the printer, as was common, seem to have followed very closely the capricious spellings in his copy; he seems also to have made but a half-hearted attempt to bring other orthographical vagaries into conformity with normal practice. He has italicized all Latin phrases, but, although he has nearly always italicized names of characters when they are mentioned in the text, his treatment of other proper names is not consistent, although he reveals a general tendency or intention to italicize. Capitals, as in the MSS., are very frequently and capriciously used; proper names are often without them, although here B has once or twice made a necessary correction. In the contractions used in stage-directions and ascriptions there is much inconsistency, and often, as in the MSS., names of characters are contracted even in the text, although B has sometimes expanded them. The punctuation of the prose passages is much fuller and clearer than in the Rawlinson MS., and, though often less intelligent than in the Halliwell-Phillipps MS., is in general more normal, notably in the substitution of full-stops for commas, semi-colons, or colons; in the verse passages, however, where, in the MSS., punctua-



tion is very light and often absent for many lines at a stretch, the printer seems to have sprinkled commas and colons as from a pepper-pot.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS MS. AND THE QUARTOS OF 1606

In the course of his very brief account of the Halliwell-Phillipps MS. in the Preface to his edition of the plays Macray declared:

The new readings show how fair a field is really open to conjecture in the attempted correction of old texts for which no MS. authority exists, and justify much of the conjectural criticism which is applied to Shakespearean difficulties. They prove also the critical acumen and ingenuity of Edm. Malone, since several of the corrections are found to correspond with emendations noted by him, as apparently his own guesses, in the margins of one of his printed copies.

This passage, for several reasons, deserves quotation and comment. First, it would be unfair to Malone to make his reputation for 'critical acumen and ingenuity' in any way dependent upon the few emendations which, evidently during a very cursory reading, he has entered in his copy of A. There are only twenty-four of them: seventeen, most of them fairly simple, and including one with which his copy of B might have supplied him, are wholly or mainly correct; three are no more than determinations of ambiguous spellings; three are certainly wrong, and one (agreeing with B, but not with the MS.) is probably wrong. B alone, as we have seen, enables us to correct 32 errors in A, and of A thus purged the MS., as we shall see presently, enables us to correct no less than 362 certain or probable errors: Malone has corrected seventeen. Had he chosen to exert himself, there can be no doubt that he would have done far better than this.

Secondly, while a comparison of the text of 1606 with the MS. certainly proves, if further proof were needed, that an Elizabethan printer, through carelessness or through failure to read his copy correctly, could introduce very considerable corruption into a text, Macray's invitation to enter the fair field of conjecture will not, by those who have made this comparison, be accepted as an invitation to a picnic. I would not myself claim any exceptional share of 'critical acumen and ingenuity', but, before I discovered the MS., I had spent much time trying to correct what seemed to me the errors and corruptions of 1606: I was naturally pleased to find that many of my conjectures were supported by the MS., but, at the same time, I

was considerably humbled to discover how many corruptions there were whose presence I had not even suspected, few of which, perhaps, especially among the 'sophistications' and the omissions of words and phrases by a scribe or compositor trying to carry too much in his memory, even the most accomplished conjecturer would have anticipated.

Thirdly, Macray's remarks might be taken to imply that the relationship between 1606 and MS. was simply one of 'true' and 'false' readings, and that wherever 1606 differed from the MS. it differed in error. This interpretation, it is true, is not supported by Macray's practice in his *apparatus criticus*, where he has often contented himself with merely recording MS. readings without incorporating them in his text; nevertheless, he does not seem to have formed any very clear ideas on the subject. We are, as a matter of fact, concerned with four classes of readings: (1) Readings, whether in 1606 or MS., which are certainly or probably corrupt, and which may be corrected from (2) Corresponding readings which are certainly or probably correct; (3) Readings which, both in 1606 or MS., are identically or similarly corrupt, and which require some attempt at emendation; (4) Variant readings, or revisions, about which it is an editor's business to decide (a) Whether, in general, those in 1606 or those in the MS. are later, *i.e.* are revisions, and (b) Whether, in general, these revisions seem more likely to have been made by the author himself or by another.

Before proceeding further, in order to give the reader a rough but rapid view of the relationship, as it appears to me, between 1606 and MS., I will set down the chief results of my investigation in a brief statistical table. Here I must necessarily anticipate certain conclusions which I shall attempt to draw, and I must also insist that my enumerations, detailed as they may appear, make no pretence to scientific precision, which in these matters is not really attainable. The 'facts' enumerated are of very different kinds. When, at l. 1330, for example, 1606 reads 'loadna' and the MS. reads 'Padua', there can be no possible doubt that the reading of 1606 is a corruption of the MS. reading: it is a 'fact' as indisputable as that two and two make four. But by no means all of the errors I have classified as 'certain or probable' are as plain and indisputable as this, and when I proceed to declare that 127 of the MS. revisions are 'more or less trivial' and that 22 are 'definite improvements', my enumerations, in spite of their semi-scientific (or pseudo-scientific) form, do not represent plain,

fixed facts, about which there can be no dispute, but almost purely æsthetic judgments, with which anyone is at liberty to agree or disagree. Among verbal errors, both in 1606 and MS., I have included all (or nearly all) omissions of words and phrases, although it is possible that some of them may have been added by the reviser, not omitted by the printer. Where the corruption extends, not merely to a single word, but to a phrase, I have, nevertheless, counted it as a single unit, each unit containing, as it were, the substance, greater or less, of a single critical or textual note. Among the revisions, under the heading 'Grammatical' I have included mainly changes in the number and person of verbs and pronouns and the substitution of one preposition for another.

<i>Errors in 1606 that may be corrected from MS.</i>		<i>Errors in MS. that may be corrected from 1606.</i>	
Verbal—		Verbal—	
Certain or probable	332	Certain or probable	108
Possible	7	Possible	3
Ascriptions, stage-directions, etc.		Ascriptions, stage-directions, etc.	
Certain or probable	30	Certain or probable	1
Possible	0	Possible	4
Total	369	Total	116

*Complete or partial agreements in error between 1606 and MS.*

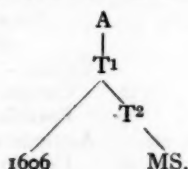
Verbal	44
Stage-directions, etc.	2
Total	46

*Revisions in MS.*

More or less trivial	127
Definite improvements	22
Grammatical	82
Total	231

(1) The numerous complete or partial agreements in error between 1606 (even when purged of the printer's errors) and MS. prove that neither can have been derived immediately from the autograph, and that both were ultimately derived from some common transcript or redaction into which many errors had already been introduced.

(2) Even apart from the variant readings or revisions, the MS. would seem to be further removed from the autograph than 1606, since, although it enables us to purge the text of 1606 of 369 errors, it introduces a further 116 of its own, which must be due either to the writer of the MS. himself or to some transcript which intervened between it and the common transcript from which both MS. and 1606 were ultimately derived. The second alternative seems the more likely, and the relationship of each to the autograph may, accordingly, be roughly represented by the following diagram, although it is possible, and even probable, that more than one transcript intervened between the autograph and 1606, and more than two transcripts between the autograph and the MS.:



(3) What of the variant readings, or revisions? That, in general, those in the MS. are *later* than the corresponding readings in 1606 is pretty clear. In the prose prologue (neither version of which was probably written by the author) the MS. appears to correct certain statements of fact. At ll. 859-61, 863-4, 1541, 1585-6, where Gryndall's *Hawking, Hunting*, etc. and Littleton's *Tenures* are closely imitated, certain fixed phrases are deliberately altered, presumably by someone who no longer had the book in front of him: it is true that, in these scenes, 1606 also differs from the book, but these differences can all be explained as misreadings or careless omissions by scribes and printers. At ll. 2148-51 Spenser's 'blatant beaſt' becomes a 'barking beaſt' and his 'cats', absurdly enough, are transformed into 'goats'. Many of the very numerous grammatical variants must be regarded as corrections of 1606 by the MS., and not *vice versa*, notably, where a verb in the singular agreeing, as was then quite normal usage, with a plural subject, is changed to the plural. At l. 2230 a less familiar phrase is replaced by a more common one. At ll. 1620-22 it may possibly have been decided that the audience's quick-wittedness had been overestimated. At ll. 1264 and 1898 a clumsy phrase is notably improved.

(4) Having thus decided that the MS. represents, in general, a

later and revised version, we must next decide whether the reviser was the author or someone else. Here, too, it is not difficult to reach a decision, for the very triviality of most of the revisions makes it inconceivable that they should have been made by the author himself. This is especially true of what may be called the grammatical revisions. Dryden, indeed, was persuaded by Tillotson that it was inelegant to make a preposition follow a verb, and went carefully through his prose works removing examples of this defect; but is it at all likely that the author of this play should suddenly have received a grammatical and orthographical illumination which convinced him that plural subjects must have plural verbs, that the second person singular should generally be avoided, that 'in London' and 'in Cambridge' were more correct than 'at London' and 'at Cambridge' (ll. 1367-8, 1838), that 'my ould' was preferable to 'mine old' (l. 1289), although 'mine office' was preferable to 'my office' (l. 2044), that the name of Shakespeare's fellow should throughout be altered from 'Burbage' to 'Burbidge' and that of 'Iohn a Stile' to 'Iohn a Stiles'? One of the grammatical changes is especially revealing: it is clear that the author habitually wrote and pronounced the past tense of *sing* as 'song'; at l. 195, where it rhymes with 'long', the reviser has retained this spelling, but elsewhere he has consistently altered it to 'sunge', notably, at l. 577, where it rhymes with 'throng', and where, consequently, his officiousness has transformed a true rhyme into a false one. As for alterations in vocabulary and phrasing, in spite of a few decided improvements, most of these, too, are equally trivial, and several are hasty and unintelligent: for example, at ll. 1648-52 the confusion in the text of 1606 is made worse confounded, and at ll. 1820, 1886, and (just possibly) 947, the reviser seems to have misunderstood the author's joke.

There is one very small piece of evidence which might be taken to indicate that the writer of the MS. was the reviser himself: at l. 661 he seems at first to have intended to write 'Crowes', as in 1606, and then to have decided in favour of 'Clownes', for his *l* is written over an *r*. This, however, is perhaps too small a peg to hang a theory on: it is doubtful whether 'Crowes' is a possible reading, and it is perhaps a little hard on the reviser, hasty and self-opinionated as he seems to have been, to assume that he was solely responsible for the introduction of those 116 errors which may be corrected from 1606.

Although I am myself firmly persuaded, and have perhaps succeeded in persuading at least some of my readers, that the MS.

revisions cannot, in general, have been made by the author, I shall, nevertheless, being aware that, while it is almost impossible to attain certainty in these matters, it is but too easy to believe that one has attained it, try not to allow this persuasion to pervade my Commentary too exclusively. Sometimes, indeed, I may speak of 'the reviser', as though his presence were self-evident, but, on the whole, I shall try to consider each case on its merits, and to provide the reader with material for his own conclusions. I may sometimes, perhaps, admit readings which seem 'definite improvements' (clearer and more familiar grammar, neater phrasing) into my text; not, however, without some uneasy feeling that, if I were really firm in my conviction and really consistent in my practice, I ought to accept from the MS. only those readings which are, more or less certainly, corrections of explicable corruptions in 1606, and to regard all others, whether or no they seem to me 'improvements', as unauthentic, contenting myself with recording them in the Commentary; for although, on the one hand, the respective relationships of 1606 and MS. to the autograph being only generally clear, I do not feel justified in claiming more than that *in general* the revisions were not made by the author, I admit, on the other hand, that the difficulty of reaching truth in these matters does not lessen the obligation to seek it, and that to cherish a comfortable faith that, while all the 'trivial' revisions were due to the reviser, all that seem in any way 'improvements' were somehow due to the author, would be to forsake reason for superstition and to make scholarship an affair of whim and inclination. My final defence of this occasional inconsistency would be that, if I were invited to prepare a text for performance, I should unhesitatingly introduce into it these few 'improvements', which, although probably not made by the author, were at least made by a contemporary, and which would relieve the audience of a few distractions and obscurities.

#### PROPOSED TREATMENT OF THE TEXTS

##### *Determination of the Text and Recording of Variants and Errors.*

About the first two plays there is here no problem, our only authority being the Rawlinson MS., which I propose to reproduce with certain alterations that shall be described in due course. Here it is only necessary to remark that, in order to keep down the size of the Commentary, I shall simply add within square brackets letters



which the scribe has obviously omitted, and that I shall add *y* within square brackets wherever, as he often does, the scribe has represented 'they' by the unstressed form 'the'.

My text of the *Second Returne* I shall base on 1606, as being almost certainly nearer to the autograph than is the MS., and on A rather than on B, since A was certainly the first edition, and since the differences between it and B can only be due to the printer. Apart from certain alterations that shall be described in due course, I propose to reproduce the text of A exactly, except where it requires correction either from B, from the MS., or from myself, and except for those few MS. 'improvements' mentioned at the end of the preceding section. I shall preserve A's spelling even where it is less normal than B's, because, since the printer seems to have followed his copy (where he did not misread it) fairly closely, it is probable that this spelling is at least nearer to the autograph. Where, however, I have received into the text a MS. reading involving the alteration of several words, or even, sometimes, of more than a single word, in a phrase or sentence in 1606, I shall generally, to avoid patchwork, reproduce the whole passage which, between catch-words, I refer to in the Commentary as 'So MS.', in the MS. spelling. Neglecting, except in a few cases of special interest, mere differences in spelling (as distinct from differences in word form), differences (again, except in certain special cases) in the use of italics, capitals, and contractions, and, except where interpretation is affected, differences in punctuation, I shall record in the Commentary all differences between 1606 and MS., merely, however, enclosing within square brackets in the text words or phrases in the MS. which 1606 may or may not have omitted. Where, for some reason, the MS. addition seems to me definitely unacceptable, I shall record it in the Commentary: I am by no means certain that *all* those MS. additions which I shall enclose within square brackets in the text are equally authentic, *i.e.* that they were all carelessly omitted by the printer, but it seems to me better to adopt this procedure than to swell with further notes a Commentary already and necessarily extensive. For the same reason, where B, in agreement with the MS., has corrected an obvious error in A, I shall simply make the necessary change without recording it; neither shall I trouble to record the errors which B has introduced, except where careful comparison is necessary in order to decide that they *are* errors, and except where they provide interesting illustrations of the practice of 'sophistication'. I shall also venture to intro-

duce without record into the text certain colloquial contractions in the MS., such as 'heers' for 'here is', 'hang 'hem' for 'hang them', 'wilt please you' for 'will it please you', etc.; these contractions, which occur, on the whole, more frequently in the MS. than in 1606, but which are sometimes present in 1606 where they are absent in the MS., probably represent more closely what was actually spoken on the stage. Where, however, in the verse passages, the presence or absence of a contraction in either text impairs the metre, I shall naturally regard and record it as an error.

Since I conceive it to be my duty, not merely to record different readings, but to try to decide, and to enable the reader to decide, which of them were original and which of them were revisions, and not merely to record errors, but to explain, where possible, how they arose, I do not propose, as is usual, to print below the text and above the Commentary a separate series of textual notes; for, unless I were continually to repeat in the Commentary what had already been recorded in those notes, it would be impossible to maintain any real distinction between them. I shall not, I hope, find it necessary to comment upon every variant I record, although, as against the assumption that the whole duty of an editor is to produce what is commonly called a 'sound text', I should almost be prepared to maintain the paradox that a reading which is not worth commenting upon is not worth recording. I have often wondered precisely what illumination the compilers of those laborious accumulations of unclassified facts which constitute the ordinary *apparatus criticus* have themselves received therefrom, and I have sometimes been tempted to suppose that they are supported by a faith, which, so far as I can see, is unfounded, that, somehow, sometime, somewhere, someone will be able to draw conclusions which they have been unable to draw themselves.

#### *Unrecorded Alterations.*

So far as I can see, no useful purpose would be achieved, and most readers would be merely distracted, were I to reproduce all those caprices and inconsistencies in the MSS. which an Elizabethan printer would have made at least some attempt to normalize, or were I to reproduce some, at any rate, of those inconsistencies which the printer of 1606 has retained. On the other hand, since only some degree of normalization, not modernization, is required, I propose,

while preserving the original spelling, in general to content myself with making only such, but by no means *all* such, changes as might have been made by a contemporary printer. This principle, which an editor may apply either partially or to its utmost extension, seems to me, on the whole, to be the only sound rule for the printing of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts, and to be in every way preferable to the two mechanical extremes of literal reproduction (except, of course, in facsimile, which serves a special purpose) and complete modernization. I do not myself propose to apply this principle to its fullest extent. In my treatment of the Rawlinson MS. I shall, except in the matter of punctuation, with which I shall deal separately, go very much less further than a contemporary printer would certainly have done, and shall content myself with substituting medial *u* for medial *v* (the scribe employs both indifferently), with giving each verse line an initial capital and with capitalizing proper names, with expanding common contractions and the names of characters contracted in the text, and with italicizing Latin phrases and a few titles of songs and tunes. It would, indeed, be permissible to treat both the Rawlinson MS. and the text of 1606 as a really careful contemporary printer would have done: in that case, I should not only have to italicize all proper names in the Rawlinson MS., but all those in 1606 which the printer has inconsistently left in roman type; whereas I propose, in dealing with the text of 1606, to content myself with italicizing a few titles of songs and tunes, and with expanding names of characters contracted in the text (as distinct from those contracted in the stage-directions and ascriptions, into which, however, I shall, now and then, silently introduce consistency).

Punctuation is a different matter, and must be treated separately. How often, in these plays, its absence or inadequacy has left the meaning ambiguous, many a note in my Commentary will reveal. In the verse passages, as I have already remarked, it is very light, and often entirely absent for many lines at a stretch, while that which the printer of 1606 has inserted is often as baffling and absurd as that in the various quartos of Marston's plays. Wherever there seems to me to be a real problem of interpretation, I shall carefully describe the changes I have made, and shall consider possible alternatives, but where the meaning, though obscured, is not really in doubt, I shall content myself with silently removing the obscurity. Here, with one word corrected, and two letters (in brackets) supplied, from the

MS., is an average (not really ambiguous) example of the punctuation of 1606 in a verse passage (ll. 1340-1357):

*Fur.* Now by the wing[s] of nimble Mercury,  
By my Thalías siluer sounding harpe:  
By that cælestiall fier within my brayne,  
That giues a liuing genius to my lines:  
How ere my dulled intellectuall.  
Capres lesse nimble then it did a fore,  
Yet will I play a hunt's vp to my muse:  
And make her mount from out her sluggish nest,  
As high as is the highest spheere in heauen:  
Awake you paltry trulles of *Helicon*,  
Or by this light, Ile Swagger with you streight:  
You grandsyre *Phæbus* with your louely eye,  
The firmaments eternall vagabond,  
The heauens promoter that doth peepe and pry,  
Into the actes of mortall tennis balls.  
Inspire me streight with some rare delicies,  
Or Ile dismount thee from thy radiant coach:  
And make thee [a] poore Cutchy here on earth.

And here are two lines of verse (1371-2) and three lines of prose (1459-61) from the Rawlinson MS. of the *First Returne*:

since I shall haue a mate for my longe waye  
whose talke, will add winges to the tedious daye.

wee of the better sorte haue a priueledge to create Lattin, like knightes  
and to saye rise vpp S<sup>r</sup>. phrase, but Sirra begone thou haste moued my  
chollar . . .

In all similar passages I propose to make the necessary alterations without recording them.

I shall generally remove examples of what may be called the conjunctive (as distinct from the disjunctive) comma, in such phrases as 'opus, and vsus' (*First Returne*, ll. 215-16, 403), 'genus, and species' (l. 978), 'you, & I' (l. 989): many writers, notably, Ben Jonson, in the carefully corrected texts of his plays, habitually employed them, but the practice was by no means universal, and to-day is merely distracting. They are frequent in the Rawlinson MS., less so in the Halliwell-Phillipps MS., and comparatively rare in 1606. On the other hand, I shall sometimes insert commas (rare in the MSS., more frequent in 1606) after exclamations such as 'how', 'what', 'well', 'faith', and after apostrophes and allocutions such as 'Please your worship', 'I beseech you sir'. Here the only general rule I have been able to devise has been 'Wherever possible, refrain', and I admit that

I have been guided more or less by instinct, which has suggested to me that, for example, in 'Well Studioso better happ befall thee' (*First Returne*, l. 1351) it was only necessary to insert a comma after 'Studioso'; that in 'Nay where thy happs be nipt, my hopes must wither' (l. 1362) a comma after 'Nay' was required, while in 'Yea euery tawnye trull, each mincinge dame' (l. 1333) a comma after 'Yea' was not really necessary; that 'Why then *Stercutio*, I would be very willing' (*Second Returne*, l. 721) might stand, but that in 'Why was Homer of our trade, I tooke him to haue beene a blinde harper' (*First Returne*, ll. 1514-15) a comma must be inserted after 'Why'. I shall also occasionally insert commas where subordinate clauses have been left unenclosed. I shall sometimes insert question-marks, which are often absent, but exclamation-marks, very rare in Elizabethan prints, I shall entirely avoid.

A rather special problem is presented by literally-reported speech, in passages beginning with 'He said to me', etc., followed by the exact words addressed to the speaker on that occasion: neither in the MSS. nor in 1606 are such quotations, as is common in Elizabethan prints, italicized, nor are they often, as is also common, preceded by a comma and distinguished by an initial capital. To avoid obscurity and ambiguity something must necessarily be done, and I shall prefer the second method, as involving less interference with the text. Quotation-marks, it is perhaps hardly necessary to observe, were almost never used for this purpose in Elizabethan prints.

#### MACRAY'S EDITION

So far, I have said nothing about Macray's treatment of the text. Students of Elizabethan literature must always be grateful to him for discovering and printing the Rawlinson MS., and, although he doubtless committed many faults, it should be remembered that modern standards of accuracy in the editing of English texts were not then generally required or expected. That he frequently misread the Rawlinson MS. was pointed out long ago by Professor Moore Smith in an article in the *Modern Language Review* (X, 162 ff.); he also took, perhaps, unwarrantable liberties with the punctuation, especially by his frequent insertion of exclamation- and quotation-marks. In his treatment of 1606 he deserves credit for perceiving that A, not B, was the first edition, and for making A the basis of his text, although he often seems to have confounded the two texts in front

of him, and to have followed B when he supposed himself to be following A. His practice of enclosing within square brackets in his text, not only the apparent omissions of 1606, but also all MS. readings which differ from 1606, does not, perhaps, deserve imitation, and he has sometimes failed to observe that B corrects A, and has accordingly enclosed within square brackets, as though they were to be found only in the MS., true readings of 1606. Sometimes, too, while involuntarily following B instead of A, he has not noticed that, although B is wrong, A is right: *e.g.* at ll. 1377-8 he has enclosed a passage omitted by B, but present in A, within square brackets, as though it were to be found only in the MS. His use of the Halliwell-Phillipps MS., as my examination of it has revealed to me, was rather perfunctory; he has often misread it, and he has left either unused or unrecorded nearly half of those readings which differ from 1606. Perhaps, however, the time he could devote to its collation was unexpectedly curtailed by a request for its return, in order that it might be inspected, as 'the only manuscript of the time of Elizabeth in a private library in which any of the works of Shakespeare are mentioned', by some new party of visitors to that 'Quaint Wigwam on the Sussex Downs' where Halliwell-Phillipps lived with his 'Rarities'.

In my Commentary I shall make no attempt to introduce a regular exhibition of Macray's faults. I shall sometimes note where, in matters of interpretation, I agree with or differ from him, but I shall only occasionally report his misreadings, and then almost only when they are of a kind which an Elizabethan printer might also have committed. It would neither enlarge the reader's views nor advance Elizabethan studies were I to swell an already extensive Commentary with grumbles and petty triumphs.



## MILTON, LIMBO, AND SUICIDE

BY JOSEPH HORRELL

### I

The fable of Milton's epic, Addison finds, is marred by 'some particulars which do not seem to have probability enough for an epick poem; particularly in the actions which he ascribes to *Sin* and *Death*, and the picture which he draws of the *Limbo of Vanity*. . . . Such allegories rather savour of the spirit of Spenser and Ariosto, than of Homer and Virgil'.<sup>1</sup> Addison declares his admiration for the allegory on Sin and Death in its 'kind', though not as part of an epic poem. He admires, too, Satan's journey on the outer globe of the world where Limbo lay, which 'strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great and wild'. But both of these crucial passages, he thinks, must be considered in the light of Aristotle's 'fine and just' rule that the 'fable of an epick poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing'. 'These passages', he says, 'are astonishing, but not credible; the reader cannot so far impose upon himself as to see a possibility in them; they are the description of dreams and shadows, not of things or persons'. It would be easy, by mere citation, to misrepresent Addison on this point, for he discusses it at some length. He knows there are allegorical persons in Homer like Circe and Polypheme, but these could have been taken as true, and in any epic allegory 'the plain literal sense ought to appear probable'. Addison is maintaining, like St. Thomas and Dante, that all higher levels of sense must base themselves upon a literal sense. 'The story', he says, 'should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political, truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration'. This is good sense, whether it came from Aristotle or out of Addison's own head, and either source might give the same rational answer.

<sup>1</sup> *Spectator*, No. 297. See also *Spectator*, Nos. 273, 285, 309, 315, 357. For Dr. Johnson's comment on the two passages, see *Lives*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1905), I, 185-7. He says of Limbo, 'his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the "Paradise of Fools"; a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place'.

Addison returns to this subject later, and he qualifies and elaborates it in more detail. He remembers the beautiful 'imaginary persons' in Homer and Vergil like Sleep, or Flight and Fear, or Terror, Rout, and Discord, for Milton uses a similar way of speaking when he says that Victory sat on the right hand of the Messiah. These short allegories 'are not designed to be taken in the literal sense, but only to convey particular circumstances to the reader, after an unusual and entertaining manner'. 'But when such persons', he continues, 'are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a series of adventures, they take too much upon them; and are by no means proper for an heroick poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts'.

This may help us look at Limbo, which is an improbable 'picture' rather than an improbable 'action', according to Addison's terms. The picture is somewhat diffuse and vague. Like a Miltonic simile, it has devious connections which make it more striking to look at than to explore.

## II

Editors of Milton have glossed many a learned whimsy of the poet, but they have never dwelt long on what his Limbo has to do with *Paradise Lost*. They have avoided this place, I should think, not because it is unambiguous and clear, like Dante's, nor because they are hard put for learning, as editors of Milton must be, always feeling somewhat like the pupils of his severe tutorials. For Milton, victim of an old habit, webbed the passage with complications until it seems to us wonderfully confused, like the place itself. Perhaps we may discover by reading the passage, III, 416-509, that some of the confusion is real.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier, II, 1010-50, Satan, departing the 'nethermost Abyss' of Chaos and Night, struggled through the warring elements until he came to a place of less tumult where, from his distant vantage, he could view both the bright battlements of Heaven and the world hanging from it on a golden chain, appearing no larger than a small star by the moon. He now alights on the opaque outer shell of the world, so that this place which had seemed a globe now appears a

<sup>1</sup> For notes on the passage, see Todd, *op. cit.*, vol. II; *Poetical Works*, ed. David Masson (London, 1903), vol. III; *Paradise Lost*, ed. A. W. Verity (Cambridge, 1921). (Hereafter I refer to notes simply by the editor's name and the lines.) After his explication, Masson says, somewhat enthusiastically, 'There are Limbos in other poets; but Milton's beats them all'. E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (New York, 1930), while discussing the 'construction' of *Paradise Lost* (pp. 245-56), finds no occasion to mention Limbo at all, here or elsewhere, in his book.

boundless continent 'dark, waste, and wild', where the ever-threatening storms of chaos bluster. But Milton explains, by looking ahead, that there is another region, obviously the upper hemisphere, where from the wall of Heaven comes some small reflection of 'glimmering air less vext with tempest loud'. Satan has landed at a place low enough on the globe that Heaven's light does not reach it, though it could easily be opposite the point in chaos where, with his view unobstructed, he saw light. Here he walks 'at large', apparently great distances (the simile indicates analogous changing climes, with the vulture making its first stop on the barren plains of Sericana, which correspond to this place), so that when Limbo is introduced we know Satan is on the dark hemisphere, but can only guess at his cosmic latitude. We may not be precise, but we are about as precise as Milton will allow us to be, for his protestant universe has a bizarre design that makes us yearn for the Ptolemaic system without refinements. After Limbo, he continues, with a needed reminder,

All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,  
And long he wanderd, till at last a gleame  
Of dawning light turnd thither-ward in haste  
His travell'd steps. . . . (III, 498-501.)

He goes on to say that Satan sees the stairs leading up to the wall of Heaven, and there the portal of Heaven itself.

But the difficulty arises when the long passage containing Limbo is interpolated. We know from Satan's contextual journey his relative position on the lower hemisphere of darkness. But we are confused when Milton says that in the future 'up hither' flew all things transitory and vain, for we have been following Satan, and Satan is not yet 'up hither' where he will see the gleam of 'dawning light' that signifies the upper hemisphere. 'Up hither' cannot simply mean out from the earth in any direction, but must mean upward to the top of the world, for the only exit is there. Milton has encountered difficulty in interpolating his Limbo at the correct cosmological place in the context. The reason is clear, I think. The candidates for Limbo, when that place came to exist, were whirled from the upper to the lower hemisphere, following a direction opposite Satan's more leisurely journey which now occasions the passage. So Milton's 'up hither' does not apply until Satan comes 'up hither' to the entrance both to the world and the stairs of Heaven, many lines later. But then, of course, Milton would have had similar difficulty in treating the 'backside' of the world. He must have thought highly of his Limbo, with a strong urge

to use it, or he would hardly have let it play havoc with the context, as he surely knew it did when his amanuensis read this book to him.

When Satan reaches light, we see how Milton has subverted his cosmology to satire. All vain things, after Sin has come into the world, will aspire for Heaven and rise above the outer shell on their way. Satan now stands at what is to be the crucial place, the top of the world, which he is about to enter. The irony in the predicament of these vain things will be that they stand at the parting of the ways, the path from the earth behind them, with the stairs leading to Heaven, the bridge to Hell, so that even while glorying in the sight of Heaven they are suddenly caught in a 'violent cross wind from either Coast' and blown 'transverse ten thousand Leagues awry'. It is true that, just here, Milton does not mention the bridge from Hell, but he has already told us about it in an earlier passage that looks ahead (II, 1023-33), and he makes the whole matter clear at its proper place in the story when Sin and Death build their bridge on Satan's path through chaos.<sup>1</sup>

. . . and now in little space  
The Confines met of Empyrean Heav'n  
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell  
With long reach interpos'd; three sev'ral wayes  
In sight, to each of these three places led. (X, 320-4.)

Here he is using the etymology of 'confines' for all it is worth.

These vain things evidently meet again somewhere in the region of the 'backside of the World', for they are blown from either direction seemingly to the same general place. And this place, 'a *Limbo* large and broad', seems to be the dreary place where Satan first alighted, the place of storms and darkness, which occasioned the comment that when Satan was there it was still uninhabited.

So on this windie Sea of Land, the Fiend  
Walk'd up and down alone bent on his prey,  
Alone, for other Creature in this place  
Living or liveless to be found was none,  
None yet, but store hereafter from the earth  
Up hither like Æreal vapours flew  
Of all things transitorie and vain, when Sin  
With vanity had filld the works of men. (III, 440-7.)

The word *limbo*, in Milton's time, could easily signify this windy sea of land. Captain John Smith, writing in 1624, says, 'Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these vnhabited Isles; which for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Verity's appendix on the cosmology, pp. 663-4.

extremetic of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called *Limbo*.<sup>1</sup> Milton seems to prefer the Latin form, *limbus patrum*, a precise theological term, when he is referring to the theological place, as he does only contemptuously.<sup>2</sup> The English form, as it was often used, simply meant oblivion, a place of confusion and darkness or Hell. The sombre associations of the word might easily come from Vergil's *limen*, or threshold to Hades, across the Styx, where the souls of infants weep, and with them beyond the unlovely mere are the suicides, who in innocence threw away their lives, loathing the light.<sup>3</sup> I do not know whether the word customarily encouraged classical allusions, but these would naturally suggest themselves, and Ben Jonson uses the word with the sixth book of the *Æneid* in mind, and so does Milton in the two examples of it in his prose. Jonson speaks of 'Minos, Eacus, and Radamand' as 'Princes of Limbo'.<sup>4</sup> Milton says in his *Areopagitica*:

But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant soul, should be to stand before a Jury ere it be borne to the World, and undergo yet in darknesse the judgement of *Radamanth* and his Collegues, ere it can passe the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity provokt and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new Limbo's and hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned. (IV, 305.)

And similarly in *An Apology against a Pamphlet*:

Proceeding further I am met with a whole ging of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a slye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo, worse then the ghost of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his friend *Æneas*. (III, 307).

Milton names over a number of things in his Limbo, though the sum, all things taken together, hardly gives us any real sense of the place beyond its confusion, with the membership having only vanity as a reason to be congenial. All vain things, all who built their hopes on vain things, these are the inhabitants:

All th' unaccomplisht works of Natures hand,  
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixt,  
Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,  
Till final dissolution, wander here,  
Not in the neighbouring Moon, as some have dreamd;

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1884), p. 414. Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. *Limbo*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *An Apology against a Pamphlet*, III, 353; *Christian Doctrine*, XVII, 311. References to the prose are to volume and page of the *Columbia Milton* (1931-1938).

<sup>3</sup> *Æneid*, vi, 426-39.

<sup>4</sup> *Poems*, ed. B. H. Newdigate (Oxford, 1936), p. 273.

Those argent Fields more likely habitants,  
 Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold  
 Betwixt th' Angelical and Human kinde:  
 Hither of ill-joynd Sons and Daughters born  
 First from the ancient World those Giants came  
 With many a vain exploit, though then renownd:  
 The builders next of *Babel*. . . (III, 455-66.)

Milton's reference to vain things on the moon, as Newton observed, derives from a passage in Ariosto describing such a paradise of fools on the moon, which he had translated in his prose works.<sup>1</sup> But Milton rejects Ariosto, and for that reason it is hard to see why he must stop and argue the case, only to add grammatical confusion that forces us to read the passage with lines 459-62 parenthesized if we are to understand the reference of the second 'hither', which is the same as the first, which refers to nothing at all, as we found earlier. After the builders of *Babel*,

Others came single; hee who to be deemd  
 A God, leap'd fondly into *Ætna* flames,  
*Empedocles*, and hee who to enjoy  
*Plato's Elysium*, leap'd into the Sea,  
*Cleombrotus*. . . (III, 469-73.)

### III

These two who took the ultimate leap, one into one element, one into another, are the only persons to appear by name in Milton's Limbo. They are in Limbo because, like the rest, they were seduced by vain ideas, though there is the relative fact that they are suicides. Vergil, we noted earlier, put his suicides in a sort of limbo. Now Empedocles, as an eminent pagan philosopher, is in Dante's limbo, a somewhat more orderly and comfortable place than Milton's.<sup>2</sup> If he had been a Christian, Dante might have planted him in the dismal wood of the seventh circle of Hell, where the obscene Harpies devour the withered branches of those who were violent against themselves.<sup>3</sup> Milton, as he wrote an Italian friend, had drained the deeper draughts of Latin and Greek, but 'can yet sometimes willingly and eagerly go for a feast to that Dante of yours'.<sup>4</sup> And he knew about this dismal

<sup>1</sup> Todd, III, 459; cf. Verity, III, 444-97.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.*, IV, 138, Temple Classics edition (London, 1932-1936).

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.*, XIII. That is, if he knew Empedocles was a suicide. Paget Toynbee, in his *Dante Dictionary* (Oxford, 1914), says, under *Empedocles*, that Dante probably knew of him from Cicero, *Academica* and *De Natura Deorum*. Cicero, *Academica*, I, 12; II, 14, 74, and *De Natura Deorum*, I, 29, does not mention the *Ætna* story. Cicero, by the way, does have the *Cleombrotus* story in *Tusculana Disputationes*, I, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Letter 8, to Benedetto Bonmattei of Florence, XII, 35.



wood of suicides, for he is impressed, like many others, with Dante's 'most realistic' scene, one of the most memorable in the *Inferno*. He records in his Commonplace Book, under 'Mors spontanea', that 'poenam eorum apud inferos scitissime describit Dantes inferno. cant: 13'.<sup>1</sup> Milton knew a great many classic suicides, but he chose this philosophical pair for his Limbo not merely because they are suicides, which is only an effect of their philosophy, but because their philosophy is vain.

While Dante is still in mind, we may notice one of the slashes Milton takes at popery in his Limbo.

And they who to be sure of Paradise  
Dying put on the weeds of *Dominic*,  
Or in *Franciscan* think to pass disguis'd. (III, 478-80.)

For he is here alluding to an old tradition, an example of 'painful superstition' and 'empty deeds', that Dante had attended before him. Guido of Montefeltro, grown old, thought he would assure himself of Heaven by assuming latterly the weeds of St. Francis, but Dante damns and discovers him in the eighth circle of Hell, among the evil counsellors, whose speech is a shaking horn of flame.<sup>2</sup>

Following the Dante reference, Milton has a second note to suicide, which reads, 'whether lawfull, disputed with exquisite reasoning. Sir Philip Sid. Arcad. 1. 4. 419 &c.'. We find in this passage of the *Arcadia*<sup>3</sup> that Pyrocles, full of chagrin and despair, is trying to dispatch himself with a rather dull iron bar when Philoclea interrupts him. She is eloquent against the act, saying, among other things:

And truly my *Pyrocles*, I have heard my father, and other wise men say that the killing ones selfe is but a false coulloure, of true courage; proceeding rather of feare of a further evil, either of torment or shame. . . . Lastly they would saye, God had appointed us Captaines of these our boddylie fortes, which without treason to that Majestie, were never to be delivered over till they were redemaunded. (II, 108.)

Pyrocles contends, in part:

And yet I do not see, but that if God hath made us maisters of any thing, it is of our owne lives; out of which without doing wrong to any body, we are to issue at our owne pleasure. (II, 110.)

But Philoclea wins the argument:

That we should be maisters of our selves, we can shewe at all no title, nor clayme; since neyther we made our selves, nor bought our selves, we can stand upon no other right but his guift, which he must limit as it pleaseth him. (II, 111.)

<sup>1</sup> XVIII, 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.*, XXVII, 67-84, 112-20.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922), II, 108-11.

Milton must have thought this debate 'exquisite' because it is somewhat theological in a romantic context, Pyrocles taking the Stoic view, Philoclea the Christian.

Milton lived in an age when stoicism was widespread, and he was willing to let his devils in Hell speak its false doctrine, but in an early poem his son of Bacchus and Circe, Comus, while tempting the chaste Lady, is afraid she has lent ear 'To those budge doctors of the *Stoick Furr*'. His Christ of *Paradise Regained*, surveying pagan philosophy, dismisses Satan's '*Stoic severe*' along with the rest.

The Stoic last in Philosophic pride,  
By him call'd virtue; and his vertuous man,  
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing  
Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,  
As fearing God nor man, condemning all  
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,  
Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,  
For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,  
Or subtle shifts conviction to evade. (IV, 300-8.)

But Manoa, when he warns Samson against suicide, does not do so in terms of stoicism, which would hardly apply to the fable.

Or th' execution leave to high disposal,  
And let another hand, not thine, exact  
Thy penal forfeit from thy self. . . . (II, 506-8.)

Milton felt strongly about the doctrine, and one of his various ways of damning Salmasius was to call him a Stoic.<sup>1</sup>

The question of suicide arises in *Paradise Lost*, Book X, after the Fall. Adam and Eve are discouraged, already weary of sin, now that Eve has proved herself a prey to the snares of our Adversary. Eve, the weaker vessel, proposes suicide as preferable to conceiving a race in sin. She says, in despair, that if they must prevent the race by abstinence, 'And with desire to languish without hope', then

let us make short,  
Let us seek Death, or hee not found, supply  
With our own hands his Office on our selves;  
Why stand we longer shivering under feares,  
That shew no end but Death, and have the power,  
Of many wayes to die the shortest choosing,  
Destruction with destruction to destroy. (X, 1000-6.)

<sup>1</sup> *First Defence*, VII, 287, 481, 531. Cf. Tillyard, *op. cit.*, p. 352, who cites Hanford's discussion of how Milton had confused feelings about stoicism, which he could hardly escape.

Adam thinks her contempt of the world is good, but he warns,

if thou covet death, as utmost end  
Of miserie, so thinking to evade  
The penalties pronounc't, doubt not but God  
Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire then so  
To be forestall'd; much more I fear least Death  
So snatcht will not exempt us from the paine  
We are by doom to pay; rather such acts  
Of contumacie will provoke the highest  
To make death in us live. . . . (X, 1020-8.)

Adam fears that, if they shorten their term of life by violence against themselves, they may be doomed to a living death, or damnation. Milton's theology informs this view, for he believed human life to have a certain term, and suicides, as well as intemperate liver, are those who do not live the term their bodies might allow.<sup>1</sup>

The peculiar nature of the spiritual death that follows sin, according to Milton, 'constitutes, as it were, the death of the will'.<sup>2</sup> Adam soon recovers from the Fall with its paralysis of the will to live, doing and suffering, that continues in Eve, who bears the onus of primal guilt, having sinned against both God and Adam. Adam has been well instructed by God through Raphael, and he is Eve's doctrinal intermediary even as Raphael was his. So when Eve proposes suicide, he gives her an answer that is theologically correct.

Adam insists that 'No more be mention'd then of violence Against our selves', and his prospectus of their lives shows reconciliation to their fate. He exemplifies patience, which 'consists in the endurance of misfortunes and injuries'. Patience has three opposites, impatience, a hypocritical patience, and 'a stoical apathy',<sup>3</sup> and Milton had these in mind when he wrote of his devils in philosophic debate, with a nice allusion to Horace:

Of good and evil much they argu'd then,  
Of happiness and final misery,  
Passion and Apathie, and glory and shame,  
Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophie:  
Yet with a pleasing sorcerie could charm  
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite  
Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured brest  
With stubborn patience as with triple steel. (II, 562-9.)

But 'sensibility to pain', Milton says, 'and even lamentations, are not inconsistent with true patience'.<sup>4</sup> And now Adam and Eve, reconciled to loss of bliss, breathe constantly their unutterable sighs.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, XV, 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 207.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

It is worth mentioning, while we are at this point, that Eve's line quoted above, 'And with desire to languish without hope', has been taken as a translation of Dante's 'che senza speme vivemo in disio', which Vergil speaks to describe the fate of those who are in limbo.<sup>1</sup> But no one, so far as I know, has remarked the similarity of Milton's repeated lines about the sighs, 'and with our sighs the Air Frequenting', and 'that sighs now breath'd Unutterable',<sup>2</sup> to the memorable lines which describe the pagans, living in sadness without torment, who give as the only evidence of their sadness in limbo 'sighs which caused the eternal air to tremble'.<sup>3</sup>

Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare,  
non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri,  
che l'aura eterna facevan tremare. (*Inf.*, IV, 25-7.)

And now limbo, as a reminder, brings us back to Milton's Limbo, and to that pair of suicides, Cleombrotus and Empedocles, and their vain philosophy. Milton, as we have seen, has definite prejudices on the Stoic philosophy, and two of his most-used fathers, Augustine and Lactantius, spend many pages condemning the doctrine and its vain effects like suicide. Augustine, attacking the Stoic philosophy, is also concerned with this matter of the will to live.<sup>4</sup> He asks whether it was fortitude or weakness that caused Cato to kill himself, and answers that Cato, if he had not been too weak, could have endured Cæsar's victory: so much for the vaunted fortitude of the Stoics. Suicide, as he sees it, is homicide, for it is the taking away of life which is not ours, and there is no passage in the holy canonical books that grants permission for it.<sup>5</sup> Augustine expresses, at length, the Christian view of suicide similar to Sidney's precious debate and Adam's more formidable reasoning. Lactantius holds similar views.

But where did Milton pick up these two suicides for his Limbo? And why did he choose them from all the famous suicides of antiquity? Milton's learning was no simple thing, but a tortuously patient development, and it would be foolhardy to assert simple answers to these impatient questions, though they are the usual kind.

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.*, IV, 42.

<sup>2</sup> X, 1090-1, 1102-3; also XI, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> At least it is not cited by Todd, who has compiled many parallels; or Oscar Kuhns, 'Dante's Influence on Milton', *MLN*, XIII (1898), 1-6; or Paget Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature* (London, 1909), I, 127-8.

<sup>4</sup> *City of God*, XIX, 4; *Works*, ed. Marcus Dods (Edinburgh, 1872).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 20; cf. also I, 7, 20-1, 25-6. But David Hume in his essay 'Of Suicide' uses this identical argument in favour of it! The most learned favourable treatment of suicide, of course, is that of John Donne, *Biathanatos* (London, 1646), whose exhaustive citations are a guide to literature on the subject.

There may be answers to them, but I must advise that I am not seeking the answers, and the few facts I want to present are mere documentation before getting on with the poetry itself.

Empedocles is in Dante, as we have seen. But Milton knew the famous Aetna story from its source, Diogenes Laertius, from whom many have learned it.<sup>1</sup> Milton's acquaintance with Laertius, beyond his inclusion in Milton's educational rigour along with Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and Plutarch,<sup>2</sup> is seen from citations in the prose works.<sup>3</sup> Cleombrotus, who is less well known than Empedocles, was immortalized in Callimachus's epigram.

Farewell, O Sun, said Cleombrotus of Ambracia and leapt from a lofty wall into Hades. No evil had he seen worthy of death, but he had read one writing of Plato's, *On the Soul*.<sup>4</sup>

Milton was naturally familiar with Callimachus's great hymns, as his prose indicates, especially his marginalia on Pindar, though his only reference to the *Epigrams* is possibly this passage in *Paradise Lost* on Cleombrotus. But Empedocles and Cleombrotus, so far as I can find, are not grouped by classical authors.

I mentioned Lactantius in connection with suicide. Milton's acquaintance with Lactantius, as with Dante, is evidenced by citations in the Commonplace Book, Lactantius appearing seven times, Dante eight. Mr. A. F. Leach made an early explorative study of the influences,<sup>5</sup> and his ground was covered again by Miss Kathleen Hartwell, who was able to add six more influences in the poetry and prose which are possible, even probable, she thinks.<sup>6</sup> This is a nice modest number of influences, but another influence or two may be suggested. The context of Lactantius's discussion of suicide is, quite appropriately, a complete book in the *Divine Institutes* called 'Of the False Wisdom of Philosophers',<sup>7</sup> omitted by Mr. Leach and only picked over by Miss Hartwell. This book weighs pagan philosophy, as Christ and Satan do in *Paradise Regained*, and finds it wanting, with the Christian objections that we might expect by now. Several chapters of this book survey, not philosophy, but philosophers, criticizing the various leaders of schools, as Christ does in disposing

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VIII, 67-71 (Loeb).

<sup>2</sup> *Of Education*, IV, 284.

<sup>3</sup> See *Columbia Index*, s.v. Lærtius. This work came to hand too late for extensive use, though I have been able to check references with it.

<sup>4</sup> *Epigrams*, xxv. Horace alludes to the same story, *De Arte Poetica*, 11, 464-6.

<sup>5</sup> 'Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, III (1907-8), 295-318.

<sup>6</sup> *Lactantius and Milton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. ix.

<sup>7</sup> *Divine Institutes*, Bk. III, *Works*, trans. William Fletcher (Edinburgh, 1871).

of Satan's arguments.<sup>1</sup> One of these chapters, nowhere alluded to by Miss Hartwell, discusses the Pythagoreans and Stoics, who believe in the immortality of the soul, but 'foolishly persuade a voluntary death'.<sup>2</sup> Lactantius has harsh words for the misguided Pythagoreans and Stoics, for they rightly believed the soul immortal, and therefore 'laid violent hands upon themselves, as though about to depart to heaven'.

At this point he names, in order, some famous suicides, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Zeno, Empedocles, Cato, Democritus, and Cleombrotus, the first three without any elaboration. He speaks of Empedocles as one 'who in the dead of night cast himself into a cavity of the burning Aetna, that when he had suddenly disappeared it might be believed that he had departed to the gods'. He says of Cleombrotus:

Why should I speak of the Ambraciot, who, having read the same treatise [that Cato had read], threw himself into the sea, for no other cause than that he believed Plato?

Like Milton, he differs slightly from Laertius, who simply says that Cleombrotus cast himself into Hades. Both Lactantius and Augustine recognize the romantic spell of Empedocles and Cleombrotus,<sup>3</sup> though Lactantius puritanically considers Cato a seeker of fame, while Cato to Augustine is nothing more than a disillusioned man whose politics had gone wrong.

There is no reason to believe Milton learned anything about Empedocles and Cleombrotus from Lactantius that he did not already know, but the context of Lactantius's discussion must have interested him. It is a little surprising that Miss Hartwell, who deals in her whole book with only six influences, did not make this diffusive one a seventh.

#### IV

It has only been through our desultory documentation that we have wandered from Limbo to Adam and Eve after the Fall, from a passage of doubtful appropriateness to one unquestionably good. Milton knew that, as polemic, his Limbo had precedent in great poetry, and he says in his *Commonplace Book*, under *Avarice*, '*Clericorum*

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. XVII-XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *City of God*, I, xxii. If there is any magnanimity in suicide, which Augustine denies, it surely would be in Cleombrotus's act, for 'he was not hard pressed by calamity'. But Donne, *op. cit.*, Part 3, Dist. 5, Sec. 9, uses this passage from Augustine to support his own view.



avaritiam aperte notat Dantes inferno. Cant: 7'.<sup>1</sup> But Dante censures the avaricious clergy 'openly' only in a special way, for the fable itself presents the tonsured people among those who roll weights against one another, and it is Vergil who tells Dante who they are. One of Dante's severest rebukes is spoken by Marco Lombardo, in Purgatory.<sup>2</sup> Milton cites this passage in the Commonplace Book and quotes lines to show that the fusion of power of church and state is ruinous to both.<sup>3</sup> Folco of Marseilles, in Paradise, declares that Florence scatters the accursed flower which has set sheep and lambs astray, turning the shepherd to a wolf.<sup>4</sup> Beatrice tells Dante how the preaching of fables from the pulpit causes the sheep, who know nothing, to return from their pasture fed with wind.<sup>5</sup> Peter, in the stellar heaven, speaks the great denunciation of the 'ravening wolves' in the pastures, while his indignant face turns all heaven to a red glow, and Beatrice blushes.<sup>6</sup> Milton's Limbo, on the other hand, represents the poet breaking through his form to speak in his own person, without any dramatic excuse.

When we read this passage, especially the part on Catholicism, we know that we have heard Milton speak this way before, many times in his prose, once notably in his poetry. 'Trumperie',<sup>7</sup> the trepidation 'talkt', Saint Peter with his keys at Heaven's 'Wicket', all this, as Milton's 'answerable style',<sup>8</sup> sets the harsh invectious tone that we recall from the stern rebuke by the Pilot of the Galilean Lake. In *Lycidas*, however, Saint Peter is part of a dramatic processional, Camus speaking before him, so that Milton is able, like Dante, to make his speech bear the imposition not only of the restricted meaning the fable demands, but of a more general meaning as well, with close observance of his dramatic form. We could easily reject the Limbo, where vain persons and things fly to await 'final dissolution',

<sup>1</sup> XVIII, 131.

<sup>2</sup> XVIII, 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIX, 103-8. This and former citation are given by Todd for *Lycidas*, II, 126 and 128, in Peter's speech.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, 10-36.

<sup>5</sup> This line, III, 475, Addison cites as one of his three examples of the 'idiomatick ways of speaking', which a poet should take particular care to guard against. His second example, from the dinner on fruit by Adam and Eve and their guest, Raphael, 'No fear lest dinner cool' (V, 396), brought Dr. Bentley's comment: 'If the Devils want feeding, our Author made poor provision for them in his Second Book; where they have nothing to eat but Hell-fire; and no danger of their dinner cooling.' See William Empson, *English Pastoral Poetry* (New York, 1938), p. 153. Mr. Empson, with good critical results, follows up some of the talk that shuttled between Bentley and Pearce, making a close analysis of some of Milton's highly allusive passages, as I try later to do.

<sup>6</sup> *Paradise Lost*, IX, 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Purg.*, XVI, 97-129.

<sup>8</sup> *Par.*, IX, 127-32.

as a contradiction of Milton's own mortalist theology and other beliefs which are a part of the poem. But Addison's terms remind us that these are higher levels of meaning, whereas we must be concerned, first, with the 'plain literal sense', upon which all meanings are based. Milton had small opportunity to cast this passage in dramatic form, for the outer shell of the world was a solitary place when Satan made his first call, and the inhabitants of Limbo were not yet there. The fact that the passage in its context lacks a literal sense, quite apart from its probability, which Addison would press, is exemplified by the violence it does the literal sense of the context. Early, after some remarks on the dark globe, Milton says, 'Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field' (III, 430). Then, after the simile, Milton must repeat:

So on this windie Sea of Land, the Fiend  
Walk'd up and down alone bent on his prey. (III, 440-1.)

Then, after Limbo is interpolated, Milton must say for the third time, 'All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd' (III, 498). Yet the literal sense of the context, which snags so often, is simply that Satan wanders over the dark and stormy lower hemisphere of the world while finding his way to its entrance.

Considered as a piece, not merely as a violence done its context, the Limbo passage is another of those learned trains of divergent associations that we call Miltonic. Addison, if he chose, could bring this passage also to bear on the third fault in the poet's sentiments, which is 'an unnecessary ostentation of learning'.<sup>1</sup> A simple analogue of it, minus allegory and theological nicety, is Milton's use of the classical rivers in his Hell, all of which Addison thought 'finely imagined'.<sup>2</sup> He could take these rivers literally, even though they are pagan, because he was putting them in Hell. Comparisons with Dante never help Milton very much, and there is only infrequent general likeness, but here we are bound to recall how Dante's imagination completely assimilates the pagan rivers of Hades into a Christian scheme. The rivers Acheron, Styx, and Phlegethon, each with specific qualities, flow from fissures in the great Old Man who looks at Rome as if it were his mirror, and at last form the ultimate lake, Cocytus, frozen by the wind of Satan's wings. Milton, with another fable, also attempts a positive use of these rivers. He has them converge in the burning lake, so that the imaginative spell of sinners fixed in ice, which he could not resist, is realized by a frozen

<sup>1</sup> Todd, I, 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 309.

continent where, rushed from warmth, sinners pine 'Immovable, infixt, and frozen round' before being rushed back to fire.<sup>1</sup>

But if one treats these rivers, with their associations, one must also treat that most blessed of rivers, Lethe, which is implicit in the unhappy ones to such degree that Dante made an inquiry when Vergil did not mention it along with the others.<sup>2</sup> Dante could make Lethe a river of the Earthly Paradise, at the end of Purgatory, which takes away the memory of sin.<sup>3</sup> But Milton does not find any positive use for Lethe except to bound the frozen continent that lies beyond. He remarks that it is the river of oblivion, offering forgetfulness to those who drink of it, but he places it in Hell in such manner that no one can drink of it. The devils see it when they scout Hell, as the damned will when the harpy-footed Furies hurry them from hot to cold, but fate says they cannot drink of its waters, and places Medusa with Gorgonian terror to guard the ford. We cannot help asking, if Medusa denies it to all, why Milton must tell us, still further, that the water of Lethe flies 'All taste of living wight', and still further, that it does this 'as once it fled The lip of Tantalus'. If it is a river that cannot be drunk, there is no use for it to fly the lips of men. But if it is Lethe, we must expect somebody to drink of it, so that it will have meaning which it cannot otherwise have. Milton's Lethe, then, is a river of forgetfulness that is unable to cause anybody to forget. The implications of the river cancel Milton's associations before they are made, even as his first association cancels the second before it can be made.

The discussion of suicide by Adam and Eve, where our documentation took us, shows how Milton can impose upon the literal sense of his fable the weight of theology, when he needs to, without letting it become dead weight that breaks down the vehicle. In Addison's terms, the 'story' is clear, as it must be, so that the 'natural, moral, or political' truth, the higher senses, can be discovered by anyone able to seek them out. But the Limbo passage is full of harsh noises like the prose, and its violation of the form shows us how Milton, even in his great poem, sometimes forgot and wrote with his left hand.

<sup>1</sup> Todd, II, 575-603.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.*, XIV, 130-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Purg.*, XXVIII, 127-8.

## PLACE-REALISM IN A GROUP OF CAROLINE PLAYS

BY THEODORE MILES<sup>1</sup>

A student of the drama is profoundly handicapped if he fails to recognize that the circumstances which affect the playwright are often of the most ephemeral sort, having little or nothing to do with literary or artistic standards. Most plays suffer vastly if taken from the context of their time, for drama is, after all, the most public of arts. Apology for that truth is an unwise gesture. No less a man than Ben Jonson once recaptured his public, after the failure of the consciously literary *Cataline*, with the topically brilliant *Bartholomew Fair*. Similarly, it is an unwise abdication of the scholar's function to dismiss the annotation of extra-literary matters as 'mere' antiquarianism. In a preponderant number of cases, a sincere attempt to understand the conditions which influenced an early dramatist provides the only just basis for evaluating his artistic success or failure.

Reconstruction of a dramatist's *milieu*, of course, is seldom easy. After a century of scholarship, the bearing of the actual Bartholomew Fair upon Jonson's play is largely a matter of speculation.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat more has been determined of the reason for generous allusion to actual people and places in the London of such dramatists as Dekker and Middleton.<sup>3</sup> But the preservation of adequate external evidence of a play's relation to the fads of its age is in all cases, it must be admitted, purely accidental. For this reason, a group of six realistic plays of the Caroline period, which catered, demonstrably, to certain transitory interests of the seventeenth-century Londoner is of more than usual interest and significance.

The titles and dates of the plays immediately suggest a vogue.

<sup>1</sup> Owing to his absence on active service the author has not been able to correct proofs.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925 . . .), II, 137 ff.  
<sup>3</sup> See W. K. Chandler, 'The Sources of the Characters in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*', *Modern Philology*, XXVIII (1929-30), 175-82, and 'The Topography of Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*', *Studies in Philology*, XXVI (1929), 499-504; R. C. Bald, 'The Sources of Middleton's City Comedies', *Journal of English and German Philology*, XXXIII (1934), 373-87; Margery Fisher, 'Notes on the Sources of Some Incidents in Middleton's London Plays', *Review of English Studies*, xv (1939), 283-93; and Helene B. Bullock, 'Thomas Middleton and the Fashion in Playmaking', *P.M.L.A.*, XLII (1927), 766-76.

First to reach the stage was Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer*, in December of 1631. In April of 1632 appeared Shirley's *Hyde Park*, and later in the same year, Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded* and Nabbes's *Covent Garden. Tottenham Court*, by Nabbes, was produced sometime in 1633. The last of the group was Brome's *Sparagus Garden*, acted in 1635.<sup>1</sup> Thus, from late in 1631 until some time in 1635, a period of a little more than four years, six plays were staged with London place-names as titles. Such repetition of an idea is not likely to prove coincidence.

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the plays were popular. Sir Henry Herbert mentions that *Holland's Leaguer* had a run, remarkable for its time, of six days.<sup>2</sup> *Hyde Park* was well enough remembered to warrant a Restoration revival.<sup>3</sup> Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, which was revived shortly before the closing of the theatres,<sup>4</sup> was originally so successful for the King's men that Nabbes was hurried to write what was perhaps a rival play on the same subject for Queen Henrietta's company.<sup>5</sup> Apart from the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> The dates in all cases can be assigned to the exact year. *Holland's Leaguer* and *Hyde Park* are recorded in the office book of Sir Henry Herbert (J. Q. Adams ed. [New Haven, 1917], p. 33 and p. 34). The year of production is given on the title page of the original quartos of *Covent Garden* (1638), *Tottenham Court* (1638), and *The Sparagus Garden* (1640). *Covent Garden Weeded* may be placed in 1632 because the prologue of *Covent Garden* refers to it (note 5, below) and because a second prologue mentions the first performance 'some ten years since'. Considering 1642 the latest possible date for the second prologue, we may assume that the original performance would fall in 1632. It could not have been earlier, because the buildings in *Covent Garden* mentioned in the play were not in existence before 1632.

<sup>2</sup> J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert* (New Haven, 1917), p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 11 July 1668. Professor Allardyce Nicoll (*A History of Restoration Drama* [Cambridge, 1928], p. 306) quotes a record of a performance at Court on 14 July.

<sup>4</sup> See 'Another Prologue' (all references to Brome indicate the Pearson edition, London, 1873) and note 1, above.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that Nabbes's play was imitative is implied in the Prologue. (References to Nabbes are based on the Bullen edition, London, 1887.) First the author sneers at the sensational aspects of the earlier play:

Doe not expect th' abuses of a Place;  
Nor th'ills sprung from a Strumpets painted face  
To be exprest. Our Author doth not meane  
With such vile stuffe to clothe his modest Scoene.

He continues by making a claim to originality, which like all such protestations sounds a bit wistful, and apologizes for the haste with which the play was prepared:

He justifies that 'tis no borrow'd Straine,  
From the invention of anothers braine.  
Nor did he steale the Fancie. 'Tis the same  
Hee first intended by the proper Name.  
'Twas not a toyle of yeares: few weeke brought forth  
This rugged Issue, might have bene more worth  
If he had lick'd it more.

appearance of *Tottenham Court* and the *Sparagus Garden* one year and two years later attests to the continued vitality of the genre, the *Sparagus Garden* is said to have earned the company the almost unprecedented sum of £1,000.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly enough, the six plays reveal common characteristics which perhaps throw light on the circumstances of their composition. As a group, at any rate, they are structurally unlike anything else in the realistic drama prior to 1642.

Allusion to actual places in London, as even the most casual reader of the drama of the time will notice, is frequent in plays written before 1642. Middleton, especially, was given to topographical reference, and such a work as his *Roaring Girl* mentions by name no less than thirty different spots in London. The Boar's Head tavern scenes in 1 *Henry IV*, likewise, are another obvious instance. And the whole of *Bartholomew Fair* is set in one definite locality. But the realistic use of place in the six Caroline plays differs markedly from that in the earlier works. In the *Roaring Girl* the many allusions are much too off-hand to be comparable: there is no detailed development of one specific place. In 1 *Henry IV* the Boar's Head does not appear to be individualized to any extent: it might be, just as well, any other London tavern. With *Bartholomew Fair*, which uses the place of the title as setting, the similarity is more immediately striking: but the place is *too* important to allow Jonson's play to be classified with the six Caroline comedies. As in the case of *Bury Fair* and *Epsom Wells*, by Shadwell, Jonson's disciple of the Restoration, the place itself is integral to the play. Indeed, *Bartholomew Fair* without the Fair would be no more plausible than the proverbial *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out. Even in Shadwell, the locale enforces the characterization, and colours the action throughout. But the use of the place of the title in the six Caroline plays is of a different order. It is not off-hand, as in Middleton. It is not indefinite, as in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. Yet, unlike Jonson's realism, it does not appreciably affect the mood or action. It might better be described as an added interest, perhaps introduced for its own sake, in an otherwise purely conventional treatment of plot and situation.

All six of the plays, indeed, are typical representatives of the Jonson-Fletcher tradition, and the setting might be any generally appropriate place in London. What makes them individual is the insertion

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Andrews, in *Richard Brome* (New York, 1913), p. 14, says that the information was given to him by Professor C. W. Wallace, who has not published the source. See also G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford, 1941) 1, 295.



of a photographic realism which seems to have been introduced for its intrinsic appeal, rather than for its effectiveness as setting. Four tendencies of the realistic scenes support this probability. First, the place-realism is limited to one, or, at the most, two spots in the play, usually a single act, or scenes within the act. Second, it is not essential as background, and very seldom, if ever, affects the mood or action of the play. Next, it usually involves an outright interruption of the forward motion of the plot. Last, in most cases, it employs supernumerary characters. Relating the plot of each play in some detail would best expose the detachment of the realistic scenes. But brief descriptions of the various plays and a few illustrations of the place-realism will serve.

The first play in the group, *Holland's Leaguer*, played in December of 1631, features a notorious brothel in Southwark. Yet the place of the title appears only in the first four scenes of the fourth act, a low-comedy interlude devoted to the ingenious details of the house's construction and to the appropriately militant personality of the proprietress. Precisely, we learn that the Leaguer was a completely fitted 'castle', 'garrison', or 'fort', with battlements from which the inmates could survey besiegers, with moat and drawbridge to insure their security, and with portcullis to govern rigidly the exact number of outsiders to be admitted at one time. As the captain of the Leaguer exults,

We defy  
The force of any man. Who's that knocks so?  
Go bid the watch look out, and if their number  
Be not too plural, then let them come in!  
But if they chance to be those ruffian soldiers,  
Let fall the port-cullis.<sup>1</sup> (iv, ii)

For the purposes of the play as a whole, any other setting than the Leaguer, and any other type of low comedy, would have done just as well. In fact, another might have been better, for the setting of the rest of the play is indefinite, and, significantly, all the characters have Italian names. Clearly, the title of the play, *Holland's Leaguer*, was based on a few scenes in one act alone, and that the extraneous fourth act.

The third and fourth acts of *Hyde Park*, licensed in April of 1632, are set in the Park. Although two acts would seem to represent a considerable portion of the play, only a few scenes, strictly, could have occurred in the Park and nowhere else. The badinage of Shirley's

<sup>1</sup> The Maidment-Logan edition, Edinburgh, 1875.

very fashionable society filled the Park in the early 1630's, to be sure, for the Park was just embarking upon its career as centre of court and upper-class outdoor life. References to actual places and things in the Park—the Lodge, Maurice's tavern, the deer and nightingales and cuckoos, tipping the keepers—are very artfully worked in. The nightingales and cuckoos are even employed for one charmingly, if broadly, humorous situation. But for the most part, the genteel pastimes of Shirley's play might easily have been set in a drawing-room. Only the scenes in which the foot-race and then the horse-race come upon the stage could have taken place in Hyde Park alone. And these scenes, interrupting the forward motion of the action completely, only superficially connected with it, and relying upon supernumerary runners, jockeys and 'gentlemen', illustrate well the inserted type of local activity with which we are dealing. If Shirley indubitably works the place into his play more gracefully than the others, it is only because he was the more graceful dramatist.

Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, also of 1632, is the first of two plays portraying the contemporary real estate development in Westminster.<sup>1</sup> The topography of Covent Garden appears only in the first scene, however, in which two characters enter and discuss the landscaping and building there in terms of the minutest exactness and contemporaneity. As an examination of Wenceslaus Hollar's etching of Covent Garden of a few years later will reveal,<sup>2</sup> they are painstakingly describing the new square recently laid out by Inigo Jones, the novel balconies which he had lately introduced from Italy, and the architectural innovations of his now famous parish church of St. Paul, which they refer to as 'new'. Cockbrayne remarks to Rookesbill as they enter (1, i),

I Marry Sir! This is something like! These appear like Buildings!  
Here's Architecture exprest indeed! It is a most sightly scituation, and  
fit for Gentry and Nobility.

<sup>1</sup> Richard H. Perkinson, "Topographical Comedy in the Seventeenth Century", *E.L.H.*, III (1936), 270-90, suggests the verisimilitude of the Covent Garden plays. Dealing with all the plays in the present discussion except *Holland's Leaguer*, he speculates, correctly it seems to me, that the main appeal of the titles may have been advertisement. If so, the continuity of the topographical tradition throughout the century which he outlines is, at least, dubious. Detailed study reveals that these six plays differ markedly from both earlier and later comedy exploiting place-realism and that they were written to answer a theatrical need of a precise moment. Perhaps all of the topographical plays of the century cater to the pleasure of recognition. But that in itself hardly establishes them in a tradition. The same might be said, in a general way, of any realistic work written at any time.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur M. Hind, *Wenceslaus Hollar* (London, 1922), plate XLVII.

Rookesbill qualifies (and note the precise contemporaneity of his remark), 'When it is all finished, doubtlesse it will be handsome'. Cockbrayne's enthusiasm cannot be checked:

It will be glorious: and yond magnificent Peece, the *Piazza*, will excell that at *Venice*. . . . A hearty blessing on their braines, honours, and wealths, that are Projectors, Furtherers, and Performers of such great works. And now I come to you Mr. *Rookesbill*: I like your Rowe of houses most incomparably. . . . How even and straight they are! . . . How he [the architect] has wedded strength to beauty; state to uniformity; commodiousness with perspicuity! All, all as't should be!

In time they notice Inigo Jones's balconies: 'that which jets out so on the forepart of the house; every house has one of 'hem'. They refer to the 'little Crosse upon the new Church yond' (clearly visible in Hollar's etching). They hope that eventually a class of people deserving of such a glorious place will move in. Later in the play there are three scenes laid in the Goat Tavern in Covent Garden (II, ii; III, i; v, i). But apart from the names of the rooms, such as 'Phoenix', 'Dolphin', and 'Maidenhead', and possibly the personality of the proprietor, the photograph is not sharp. Throughout, Brome is concerned mainly with forwarding his very typical and conventional comedy of dupes and dupers.

In Nabbes's *Covent Garden*, produced later in the same year, the opening hundred lines or so are again devoted to a dialogue about the new building in progress there and gossip about the adjoining neighbourhood, including the Cockpit Theatre. Two additional details visible in Hollar's etching are alluded to: the bareness of the 'garden' or square (which was gravelled instead of sodded) and the rail fence or posts about the square. But all this gets the play nowhere, and the real action is introduced later.

The fifth play of the group, Nabbes's *Tottenham Court*, which was acted in 1633, may well have been a conscious attempt to combine the popular features of the London plays of the preceding year. At least, Nabbes is open to the suspicion of imitation (see above, p. 429, n. 5). In *Tottenham Court*, the first act, laid in Marylebone (now Regent's) Park and dwelling upon the routine of the keeper of the park, alluding to the deer and the birds, and suggesting the type of people who came there, recalls *Hyde Park*; and the later acts, which move to the cake house of Tottenham Court, are reminiscent of the excursion and alarum of gullery and cuckoldry in the Covent Garden plays. But be this as it may, only in the first act is the faithfulness of detail striking, and that act, although fresh and pleasant in itself,

is an utterly false introduction to the play. The *exposé* of the extortionate prices and immoral practices of Tottenham Court which follows, except for the names of the rooms and a reference to the adjacent brick kilns, might just as well have been inspired by any other tavern in and about London.<sup>1</sup>

The most striking example of detached local colour, however, appears in the last play of the group, Brome's *Sparagus Garden*, acted in 1635. In the first place, all the material having to do with the Garden itself is confined to the third act. This third act is made up of eleven short scenes. Of these, five contribute to the action of the play. The remaining six do not affect the action, but are simply what a motion-picture audience of to-day would call 'shots' of various aspects of the Sparagus Garden. All six halt the dramatic movement completely. In the first 'shot' (III, i), the gardener and his wife Martha cynically discuss the fine art of cheating the public. Martha boasts that 'your durty Sparagus, your Artichoaks, your Carpes, your Tulips, your Strawberries' could not 'bring you in five hundred pound a yeare' without her wifely connivance. They commiserate each other that they took in but a 'piddling' £24 yesterday, and castigate this and that penny-pinching customer. Any Londoner in the audience, remembering that the King's proclamation supposedly limited keepers of ordinaries to two shillings a meal,<sup>2</sup> could enjoy a warm surge of outrage at having his suspicions of such monstrous profits thus confirmed. With the second scene, a supernumerary gentleman and gentlewoman, who appear only in this scene, enter to protest against being overcharged sixteen shillings for a dish of asparagus and two bottles of wine. It appears from this and the exposures of the fourth scene, in which the waiter refuses to give prices beforehand, that the gardener and Martha get around the King's regulations by the simple means of refusing to publish prices, itemize bills, or indeed give any written checks at all. The sixth scene, of about a printed page in length, displays exclusively what the humble and pedestrian Brome must have thought was courtly talk, banter of a group of supernumerary courtiers and ladies on what might be done in a walk in the garden. Again, in the ninth scene, a supernumerary courtier and a city wife make love, entirely in pantomime, while two worthy citizens at a table comment on such goings-on. In the tenth

<sup>1</sup> Similar protests are emphasized in the third act of the *Sparagus Garden*, and taverners are 'exposed' in both the Covent Garden plays.

<sup>2</sup> William Knowler, ed., *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches* (London, 1739), I, 262.

scene, a waiter enters to them, and the courtier, interrupted in love, complains of the bill.

By means of these extraneous scenes, Brome was merely capitalizing upon town gossip about the Asparagus Garden. He was vindicating popular censure of the place. And as in the case of the five earlier plays, the portion of the *Sparagus Garden* actually concerned with the place of the title is slight. In it, as in the others, the reader feels that the place-realism was merely grafted on to the play and that it might have been, just as effectively, grafted on to any other conventional comedy of the time. Of unique significance in the case of the *Sparagus Garden*, however, is the fact that the author reveals his own consciousness of the structural weakness. Even more important is the probability that his remarks have bearing, by implication, upon the whole group of plays. Brome's prologue cautions against disappointment:

The Title, too, may prejudice the Play.  
It says the *Sparagus Garden*; if you looke  
To feast on that, the Title spoiles the Booke.  
We have yet a tast of it, which he [the author] doth lay  
I'th midst o'th journey, like a Bait by th' way:

The apology is uneasily repeated in the epilogue:

*At first we made no boast, and still we feare,  
We have not answer'd expectation here,  
Yet give us leave to hope, . . .  
That you will grace, as well as Iustice give.*

Why should Brome have been so concerned about the public's reaction to the slight bearing of the place in the title upon the play? Certainly his solicitude would not have been voiced unless he or the company thought it necessary. Very probably Brome's warning throws light upon the reception accorded the earlier plays of the group. They might well have aroused objections that the title misrepresented the play. Brome accordingly would find it desirable to forestall similar criticism of the *Sparagus Garden*.

At any rate, the six plays,<sup>1</sup> all written within less than five years

<sup>1</sup> To the six, however, might possibly be added a seventh, Jordan's *The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon, or the Woodstreet Compter*, acted in 1641. But, in general, it seems to me that Jordan's play, rather than developing isolated realistic scenes in the manner of the six plays of seven years earlier, repeats Middleton's casual use of place names. The one scene set in 'the Bear upon Fleetbridge' does not seem to individualize the tavern. Certainly the walks of Islington and Hogsdon never come into clear focus. Parts of the fourth act do take place in the scene of the sub-title, the Woodstreet Compter, or jail; and since the jail is minutely described, perhaps the play for that reason should be included. But, as a whole, Jordan's play is a strange and individual work, wholly unlike the others in their basically conventional structure and subject-matter. For that reason, I have thought best to put it by itself.

and all using London place names for titles, reveal structural peculiarities traceable to the insertion of extraneous topographical material into an otherwise conventional Caroline comedy. The question naturally arises: what was the reason for such a vogue? Available evidence suggests that the answer may be found in a conscious attempt of the dramatists to exploit the pleasure of recognition.

Showmen of all times, we know, have been aware of the public's delight at seeing and hearing about familiar places in the theatre. One of the stock devices of present-day vaudeville and burlesque, for example, is the inclusion of talk and jokes about the locality in which the act, at the moment, happens to be billed. Such business is always superimposed upon the act; and the places mentioned, but not the jokes, change as the troupe moves from one city to the next. Again, well-known spots have a definite appeal on the screen, and the motion picture producers, not unwittingly, gratify the taste. Indeed, Hollywood seldom allows its famous Hardy family to remain peacefully at home, but sends it in quest of domestic adventure to all parts of the United States. Examples could be multiplied. But in all, would not such a perennially popular device, the pleasure of recognition, have been sufficient for a Caroline playwright and company? Especially, would it not have been sufficient if the show people knew that their public, habitually interested in anything having to do with familiar London, was at the moment more than usually interested in a particular place in London?

That the seventeenth-century Londoner was interested in his city there can be no doubt. Such a book as Norman Brett-James's *The Growth of Stuart London* is filled with contemporary evidence of the citizen's love for his city and brooding concern for its welfare. Ballads survive commemorating new building and the restoration of ancient monuments,<sup>1</sup> and civic-mindedness crops up repeatedly in the plays of the time.<sup>2</sup> Besides this general interest, moreover, the average Londoner's attention was focussed, during the precise

The none too reliable author, however, boasts on the title page of the quarto (1657) that the play had a run of nineteen days; and one might speculate, in passing, whether its success might not have influenced the revival of Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded* within the same year.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *The Pepys Ballads*, II, 47 ff. and 219 ff. on Cheapside and Charing Crosses, and the 'Praise of London'.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes in what would seem, to-day, implausible context. Mistress Fairfield in *Hyde Park*, v, i (Gifford edition, London, 1833), speaking in a love scene, tells Lord Bonville that his charity is as false as that of rich men, who, passing an ancient monument, spare pity for its ruin, but not wealth for its repair.



years of the plays, upon the particular places from which the six plays under discussion take their titles.

Evidence is especially rich in the case of the first play, *Holland's Leaguer*, which apparently represents the initial attempt to make literary capital of gossip that was shaking all London. The play enjoyed a comparatively long run of six days in December, 1631. About a month later, on 20 January 1631/2, a prose tract with the same title was entered in the *Stationers' Register*.<sup>1</sup> Six days later, on 26 January, the play itself was licensed for publication with the notation, clearly indicative of the sensational nature of the script: 'the reformacions [i.e., the licensors' *errata* and alterations] to be strictly observed [when it] may be printed and not otherwise'.<sup>2</sup> Apparently throughout all this publicity the Leaguer was in a state of siege by the authorities, for 'Mrs. Holland' was twice summoned before the Court of High Commission, on 26 January and 9 February, but failed to make an appearance.<sup>3</sup> The end of the incident is marked by a ballad, entered on 24 May 1632, entitled '*Nexes from Hollandes Leaguer*.'<sup>4</sup> The first part of the ballad repeats the identical details of the play and the prose tract, but the second part suggests that the defenders of the Leaguer have retreated to a new line at Bewdly. Needless to say, such exploitation of Holland's Leaguer must have reflected intense public interest in the place.

The two plays about Covent Garden, just as definitely, catered to the talk of the town in 1632. The Earl of Bedford, in March of 1631, had leased the land for development to a group of authorized projectors;<sup>5</sup> and in November of the same year, Edmund Howes records in his *Annales* that 'in the fore-named Couent Garden there is a particular parcell of ground layd out, in the which they intend to build a Church or a Chappell of ease'.<sup>6</sup> By 1632, with the landscaping

<sup>1</sup> Edward Arber, ed., *Transcripts of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, IV, 236. The title-page of the tract as published reads: 'Hollands Leaguer: Or, An Historical Discovrse Of The Life and Actions of Dona Britanica Hollandia the Arch-Mistris of the wicked women of Evtopia. Wherein is detected the notorious Sinne of Panderisme, and the Execrable Life of the luxurious Impudent. London, Printed by A. M. for Richard Barnes, 1632.' Some extant copies have the rare frontispiece, a woodcut depicting the Leaguer.

<sup>2</sup> Arber, *op. cit.*, IV, 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Reports of Cases in the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission* (Camden Society), pp. 263 and 268, cited by Hyder E. Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 399.

<sup>4</sup> Arber, *op. cit.*, IV, 244. The ballad is reprinted by Professor Rollins in *A Pepysian Garland*, pp. 399-406.

<sup>5</sup> Norman Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1935), pp. 169-70.

<sup>6</sup> P. 1049<sup>a</sup>. Howes's edition of Stowe (1631) is concluded on the next page, 1050<sup>b</sup>, with the remark that the record is brought up to 'this present November 1631'.

and building in Covent Garden well under way, Inigo Jones's new departure in town planning, the radical design of his red brick and white stone houses there, and the strikingly original parish church of St. Paul would have captured the attention of all London. Indeed, the activeness of public interest is remarked upon in Nabbes's play (I, i) when to Dobson's question about the crowds swarming the place, 'Dwell they all hereabouts?' Ralph explains, 'They come onely for an evening recreation to see Covent Garden'. Brome's concern, too, about the necessity of 'weeding' Covent Garden of undesirable elements has a strictly contemporary ring. A document preserved in the *Remembrancia*, dated October 1632, complains of 'the multitude of newly erected tenements in Westminster, the Strand, Covent Garden . . . , which had brought great numbers of people from other parts, especially of the poorer sort, and was a great cause of beggars and loose persons swarming about the City, who were harboured in those out places'.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1634, however, Sir Edmund Verney owned two houses in Covent Garden, and Thomas Killigrew became a resident in 1637;<sup>2</sup> by the time the play was revived, some ten years later, a new prologue explains that the play is somewhat out of date, that the Garden, now entirely weeded, is set 'with Noble Seeds'.

Hyde Park, when Shirley wrote his play in April of 1632, was just emerging as a fashionable resort. Shirley remarks in his dedication to the Earl of Holland in 1637 that the play was presented 'upon first opening of the Park', though whether he is referring to the actual first opening to the general public, after years of use by the privileged court group, or merely the opening for the season of 1632 is a matter of some doubt.<sup>3</sup> But it may be said that unmistakable allusions to the Park as a place of public resort before 1632 do not exist, and that after 1632 they are frequent. About the same time, moreover, a long ballad, that infallible barometer of public interest, was written in praise of Hyde Park;<sup>4</sup> and the details given in 'The Defence of *Hide Parke*' tally very closely with those presented in the play.

<sup>1</sup> Library Committee, Corporation of London, *Analytical Index to the . . . Remembrancia . . . A. D. 1579-1664* (London, 1878), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Chancellor, *The Annals of Covent Garden* (London, n. d.), p. 40 and p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> The ambiguity of the 'Dedication' is discussed, pp. 82 ff., and the history of the Park prior to the Restoration is presented in the introduction to my unpublished edition of *Hyde Park* in the University of Chicago Libraries. The Earl of Holland held the sinecure of 'Keeper of Hyde Park' in 1632; and he is mentioned twice in Herbert's office book (Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and p. 56) in such a way as to indicate his interest in the drama. It is possible, if not certain, that the dedication may be taken at face value: that Shirley wrote the play when the Park opened at Holland's command.

<sup>4</sup> Rollins, *Pepys Ballads*, II, 145 ff.

Turning to Brome's picture of the Sparagus Garden in 1635,<sup>1</sup> we find that his accusations are remarkably similar to those voiced by Garrard, in a letter to Strafford in June of 1634, against Spring Garden. Garrard writes: 'There was kept in it an Ordinary of six Shillings a Meal (when the King's Proclamation allows but two elsewhere) continual bibbing and drinking Wine all Day long under the Trees, . . . It was grown scandalous and insufferable'.<sup>2</sup> Complaints against the excesses of taverns and pleasure gardens are not unusual in the decade. To the average Londoner, probably, all pleasure gardens were alike. At least, the Sparagus Garden is mentioned by name, in a retrospective pamphlet of 1642, *St. Hilaries Tears*, as a typical resort 'where ten or twenty pound suppers were but trifles' to the idle patrons (p. 6). Brome's play, it would seem, voiced momentary interest in the Sparagus Garden as the current offender.

Accordingly, there is ample reason to believe that photographic representation of the places which give the six plays their titles would have been of particular interest to contemporary Londoners. There is every reason to believe, likewise, noticing the structural evidence in each one of the plays, the manner in which the topographical scenes are merely stuck in as Brome expressed it, 'like a Bait by th' way', that the scenes were used only because of that timely interest. The dramatists and companies, always good showmen, recognized the temporary value for publicity of such names as *Holland's Leaguer*, *Hyde Park*, and *Covent Garden*: the place would advertise the play. Interesting historically as the Caroline vogue which resulted undoubtedly proves, it has even greater importance for the reader of to-day in the light it throws upon the relation of the early seventeenth-century dramatist's professional problem to his literary solution. Careful reading of the six plays reveals the

<sup>1</sup> Similarly conclusive evidence of more than usual interest in Tottenham Court in the year of the play, 1633, has eluded my search. The areas north of London, of course, were popular throughout the period as places to go for country walks, especially for the trades classes. In Brome's *The New Academy* (II, i), Valentine asks Hannah, the citizen's wife,

When shall we walk to Totnam? or crosse o're  
The water, or take Coach to Kensington  
Or Paddington; or to some one or other  
O' th' City out-leaps for an afternoon,  
And hear the Cuckow sing to th' purpose? when?

The inclusion of Marylebone Park as well as Tottenham Court in the play has led me to the conjecture that the play was an attempt to combine the features of *Hyde Park* and the *Covent Garden* plays.

<sup>2</sup> William Knowler, ed., *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches* (London, 1739), I, 262.

methods through which the skilful Shirley, restricted by a practical need of the theatre, supplied a play of real merit, while his less gifted rivals sometimes faltered. In other words, comparison reveals the methods of four different playwrights in coping with what was, within very narrow limits, the same problem. The six plays afford the most extensive and clear-cut illustration of the impact of theatrical necessity upon literary craftsmanship that is to be found in the drama of the time.

## NEW LIGHT ON POPE

BY NORMAN AULT

The story of Pope's unfortunate 'burlesque on the first Psalm', now told in full for the first time, is inextricably mixed up with his famous quarrel with the piratical bookseller, Edmund Curll. The original edition of the poem, a single sheet which has survived in only one copy, was announced in *The Flying-Post*, 28-30 June, 1716 (amongst other papers), thus: 'This Day is publish'd, A *Roman Catholick* Version of the First Psalm; for the Use of a Young *Lady*. By Mr. POPE. Printed for R. Burleigh in Amen Corner, pr. 2d.' But both in this advertisement and in the imprint on the sheet itself, Mrs. Burleigh's name was nothing more than a screen for Curll<sup>1</sup> (he had others), and this publication under her name was one of his shrewdest strokes against the poet. For not only did it profoundly shock the public who condemned poem and poet alike with no uncertain voice, but it provided his enemies in the years to come with a taunt that never lost its sting. Reprobation was immediate as well as lasting, and less than a fortnight later found voice in such protests as that in *The Flying-Post*, 12-14 July, 1716:—

'Mr. Pope having writ a prophane Ballad by way of Burlesque, on the first Psalm in Metre, as it is Sung in the Churches, it may be of Service to put a stop to a farther Design, which it seems he has to Burlesque the Penitential Psalms, if you insert his Blasphemous Ballad with the following Ecch<sup>o</sup>, which justly exposes it. Certainly every Man who has the least Regard to the Sacred Text, as the Rule of his Faith and Manners, must resent such an unparallel'd Piece of Impiety.

A VERSION OF THE FIRST PSALM,

for the Use of a Popish Lady.

By Mr. POPE.

The Maid is Blest that will not hear  
Of Masquerading Tricks,  
Nor lends to Wanton Songs an Ear,  
Nor Sighs for Coach and Six.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Unspeakable Curll*. R. Straus. 1927, pp. 63 f.

To Please her shall her Husband strive  
 With all his Main and Might,  
 And in her Love shall Exercise  
 Himself both Day and Night.

*She* shall bring forth most Pleasant Fruit,  
*He* Flourish still and Stand,  
 Ev'n so all Things shall prosper well,  
 That this Maid takes in Hand.

No wicked Whores shall have such Luck  
 Who follow their own Wills,  
 But Purg'd shall be to Skin and Bone,  
 With *Mercury* and *Pills*.

For why? the Pure and Cleanly Maids  
 Shall All, good Husbands gain:  
 But filthy and uncleanly Jades  
 Shall Rot in *Drury-Lane*.

The poem in the newspaper is immediately followed by the 'Echo', of which, since it has never been reprinted, a few stanzas may be given:—

The Echo to *Pope's* Drury-Lane Ballad.

The busy World can not agree,  
 Tho' sure, methinks, it should,  
 Whether the Pope or Devil be,  
 The better Friend of God. . . . [2 stzs. omitted.]

We have a *Pope*, than both more vile,  
 Who dares God's Word Blaspheme,  
 By lewd, prophane, uncleanly Style,  
 In Terms, I dare not Name.

The Royal David's Harp he takes,  
 To play his Wanton Song,  
 And screws and strains its Strings, so makes  
 His smutty Notes sound strong.

No Atheist, Deist, Devil yet,  
 Thus rudely touch'd that Lyre;  
 To prostitute thus Holy Writ,  
 As do's this POPISH Squire. . . . [3 stzs. omitted.]

May High-Church Fury seize the Wretch,  
 And stop his filthy Tune,  
 Lest Heaven it self its Arm out stretch,  
 And stop his Vitals soon.

It is a poor thing; but an 'Echo' can hardly be expected to improve on the original voice. Nevertheless, poor or not, other people joined



in; and Pope shrank before the storm his 'Drury-Lane Ballad' had provoked, and began to prevaricate. He wrote to Swift <sup>1</sup>—'I have begun to take a pique at the Psalms of David, if the wicked may be credited, who have printed a scandalous one in my name.' He even felt compelled to make what purported to be a public repudiation of the poem, in an ill-starred advertisement in *The Post-Man* of 28-31 July, 1716, as follows:

'Whereas there have been publish'd in my Name, certain scandalous Libels, which I hope no Persons of Candor would have thought me capable of, I am sorry to find myself obliged to declare, that no Genuine Pieces of mine have been printed by any but Mr. Tonson and Mr. Lintot. And in particular, as to that which is entituled, A Version of the first Psalm; I hereby promise a Reward of three Guineas to any one who shall discover the Person or Persons concerned in the Publication of the said Libel, of which I am wholly ignorant. A. Pope.'

And he repeated this sorry fiction three days later in *The Evening Post*. With this advertisement Pope became fair game for those of his enemies who knew the facts of the case. 'Mrs. Burleigh' advertised in turn that she was ready to show the MS. of the poem in the poet's own handwriting to any one who would call at her shop.<sup>2</sup> Pope remained silent. But the gibe was too good to be dropped, and nearly twenty years later Curll was still baiting him with it: 'Did you not offer a Reward of three Guineas, by an Advertisement in the *Post-Man*, to know the Publisher of your Version of the *First-Psalm*? And when you were inform'd, did you ever pay the Premium?'<sup>3</sup> But if Pope made no further public move, on 7 August, that is within four days of the second advertisement, he was writing to Teresa Blount: 'If you have seen a late advertisement, you will know that I have not told a Lye (w<sup>ch</sup> we both abhorminate) but equivocated pretty genteelly. You may be confident twas not done without leave from my spiritual director'. After all this publicity, Pope could hardly have owned the poem, even supposing he ever wanted to; but his equivocation would seem to corroborate the general opinion of his authorship almost as satisfactorily as would his signature. There is, however, in addition, Blackmore's indignant protest against the burlesque,<sup>4</sup> which leaves us in no doubt about the identity of its 'godless author'—at least

<sup>1</sup> The letter has been dated 20 June, 1716, probably incorrectly. There is much reason for thinking Pope wrote it about 29 July, 1716, which is the date of a letter he sent to Parnell in Ireland at the same time as this to Swift (Elwin and Courthope, *Works*, vii, 461). Swift's reply is dated 30 August, 1716.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Straus, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See *Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence*, Vol. II, 1735.

<sup>4</sup> See *Essays*, Vol. II, 1717, p. 270.

in Blackmore's mind. Lastly, those few of Pope's editors and biographers who have mentioned the burlesque at all, have, while accepting his authorship, uniformly declined to print it, and, at the same time, have repeated the old reprobations. Thus one, for example, calls it, 'an impious and indecent parody of the first Psalm'; another, 'this tavern piece of truly impious buffoonery'; and a third, 'an indecent and blasphemous parody'.

The foregoing, then, constitutes the indictment (though never so fully documented before) which has for two centuries and more charged Pope with blasphemy. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, the case against him will be found to have been based on a misconception, and he himself shown to be something less than the 'devil' he has been portrayed. The simple truth is that Pope scholars have all along overlooked the fundamental fact that he was *not* burlesquing Holy Scripture in this unpleasant parody, but only ridiculing what was, poetically, a burlesque of it—a key to which interpretation of the facts is not entirely lacking in the first newspaper attack on him quoted above, in the words 'in Metre'.

Pope's care for his own craft, and his overwhelming scorn of poor verse (the two sides of probably the major passion of his life) are too well known from his correspondence, conversation and poetical criticism, to need illustration at this day. But it may be recalled that in his life-long ridicule of 'bad poets' he frequently mentions Sternhold and Hopkins, the sixteenth-century versifiers of the Psalms, whose metrical versions were still extremely popular among a large proportion of the Protestant communities: indeed, no fewer than twenty-six different editions of them, issued between 1700 and 1716, may be seen in the Bodleian alone. Now, it is generally agreed that Pope was the author of the ballad called *The Monster of Ragusa*<sup>1</sup> which was written about this time though not published until the following year. Thus it happened that when, later, he was preparing a new edition of the so-called 'Lintot's Miscellany' in which he reprinted that ballad, he wrote a letter to Swift (15 October, 1725) in the course of which, after scoffing at Hopkins and Sternhold, he jokingly alluded to himself as 'a modern imitator of theirs', and quoted a stanza from *The Monster* to prove it. In 1716, therefore, when *The Whole Book of the Psalms Collected into English Metre*, By Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, And Others, was reprinted and published yet twice again, it is not impossible that it was one of these

<sup>1</sup> See *Pope's Own Miscellany*, N. Ault, 1935, pp. xlvii ff.

re-issues which provoked Pope in a moment of high spirits to out-Sternhold Sternhold himself; for a comparison of the Elizabethan's metrical version of the First Psalm with Pope's burlesque proves beyond a shadow of doubt that Pope did not write in parody of the Psalm itself, but wholly and solely in mockery of Sternhold's pedestrian verses, the 1716 text of which runs as follows:

## PSALM I.

T[homas]. S[ternhold].

The man is blest that hath not lent  
to wicked men his ear:  
Nor led his life as sinners do  
nor sat in scorners chair.

But in the law of God the Lord  
doth set his whole delight:  
And in the same doth exercise  
himself both day and night.

He shall be like a tree that is  
planted the Rivers nigh:  
Which in due season bringeth forth  
its fruit abundantly.

Whose leaf shall never fade nor fall  
but flourishing shall stand:  
Even so all things shall prosper well  
that this man takes in hand.

As for ungodly men, with them  
it shall be nothing so:  
But as the chaff which by the wind  
is driven to and fro.

Therefore the wicked man shall not  
in judgment stand upright:  
Nor in assembly of the just  
shall sinners come in sight.

For why? the way of godly men  
unto the Lord is known:  
Whereas the way of wicked men  
shall quite be overthrown.

Pope's skit, which was obviously never meant for publication, was in all likelihood written in company in one of the coffee-houses, Button's, Will's, or another, frequented by him and his friends when in town,—where, in fact, he was residing during the first half of 1716.

That would explain how his busy persistent enemy, Curll, could have both obtained a copy of it, and—unknown to Pope—published it like a street ballad in Pope's name and to his defamation. But that was not all. On the original ballad-sheet, below the word 'Finis', Curll inserted the libellous statement: '*N.B.* Speedily will be Publish'd, *The SEVEN Penitential Psalms*. Collected into English Metre. By Mr. POPE'; and had the further malignity to publish the whole thing under a title ('*A Roman Catholick Version*' . . .) which was an offence to, and injury of, all Pope's co-religionists as well. For at this time—it may be remembered—anti-Catholic feeling was running high, and members of that Church were suffering under a minor but very real persecution, of civil restrictions and political disabilities. And even if Pope in his young-manhood (he was then about twenty-eight) was not the most devout of Catholics, there can be no doubt whatever that he was a thoughtful and, in many ways, a religious man. It is now known, for instance, that the world-famous *Universal Prayer*, though not published until 1738, was written only a few months earlier than this burlesque.

For all these reasons, Pope's horror when confronted with this outrageous piratical publication of Curll's can well be imagined. And though, largely as a result of the bookseller's action, he had reason to complain (as he did in a letter to Swift written during the general outcry): 'I suffer for my religion in almost every weekly paper', he tried to put a brave face on it and make fun of the accusation of authorship. He was nevertheless so shocked by the clamour against himself, that even to Swift he dared not, or did not, confess his work. And as the newspapers also began to repeat Curll's lie that he had 'a farther Design to Burlesque the Penitential Psalms', the growing public indignation seems to have driven him to consult his spiritual director, who, lest worse should befall where no intentional sin had been committed, advised, or agreed to, the public advertisements of that unfortunate equivocation—doubly unfortunate, inasmuch that Pope's allusion to it in his letter to Teresa Blount, above quoted, has done perhaps more even than the burlesque itself to alienate modern readers;—trebly unfortunate, because, as it occurs in an otherwise playfully gallant letter, its forthrightness of statement (although addressed to a dear friend and fellow Catholic) has generally been mistaken for a cynicism which was far from Pope's thought at that moment, as is proved by the words that immediately followed: 'My next news is a trifle. . . .'

In conclusion, it may be remarked that while to many Protestants brought up in the use of the metrical version of the Psalms in public or private worship, that version would have assumed the authority and sanctity of Holy Writ, to one of Pope's religion—not to mention his poetical genius—Sternhold and Hopkins' versification could be no more sacrosanct than any other of the numerous paraphrases in verse of the Scriptures, which were then all the fashion in the miscellanies and periodicals; and he could therefore make fun of its feeble verse with no consciousness of impiety.<sup>1</sup> On any view of the facts the main fault lay with Curll. And one remembers what Swift wrote to Pope on this very occasion: 'I think the frolics of merry hours, even when we are guilty, should not be left at the mercy of our best friends, until Curll and his resemblers are hanged'. But still more to the point, perhaps, was Curll's own rejoinder (in his account<sup>2</sup> of a conversation with Pope about this time), when to Pope's assertion 'Satires should not be Printed', he answered: 'They should not be wrote, for if they were, they would be Printed'.

<sup>1</sup> I am reminded by Professor Sutherland that Dennis produced a travesty of this argument (which acquits Pope of blasphemy) to prove his authorship of the 'Blasphemous Ballad'. He asserted that as no 'rhyming person who has been brought up Protestant' could possibly have written the burlesque, it must therefore have been the work of a 'Popish rhymster . . . brought up with a contempt for those sacred writings', and ended triumphantly with—'Now shew me another Popish rhymster but he' (*Dunciad*, ii. 268n.).

<sup>2</sup> *The Curliad*, 1729, p. 21.

## HENRY ARTHUR JONES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA

BY MARJORIE NORTHEED

In Henry Arthur Jones's youth the English theatre was in very low cultural and moral water. Respectable Victorians averted their eyes; interested critics, such as Henry Morley, scorched it with their sarcasm; Matthew Arnold included it frequently in his jeremiads, wrote peevish letters about its discomforts, lack of talent, poor lighting and offensive orange peel, and after the visit of Sarah Bernhardt and the French actors in 1879, was driven to declare: 'We in England have no modern drama.'<sup>1</sup> He was virtually right. In the 1860's the English drama was represented by brittle adaptations from the French and lurid melodramas by the Irish, its critics were chiefly the 'chicken and champagne' devotees in 'suits of seedy black' sneered at by George Moore,<sup>2</sup> and its audience, according to Henry Morley,<sup>3</sup> was composed of 'Mr. Dapperwit in the stalls, Lord Froth in the sideboxes, and Pompey Doodle in the gallery'.

In the 1900's the English drama was represented by the solemn problem plays of John Galsworthy, the subtle problem plays of Granville-Barker, the provocative problem plays of Bernard Shaw, and the competent problem plays of many other writers. Its critics were Bernard Shaw, Max Beerbohm, William Archer, and, as might be supposed, its audience was beginning to be the intelligent section of the public. It is not to be imagined that Lord Froth would appreciate *The Voysey Inheritance*, or Pompey Doodle derive great amusement from *Strife*. Clearly, during those fifty years, from 1860 to 1910, something had happened to the English drama, transforming it from a frivolous pastime for the thoughtless to a mental exercise for the thinkers.

The regenerating contact with Ibsen was primarily responsible for the change. His influence was one which filtered downwards through the quick comprehensions of men of genius, and soaked itself into the very texture of the English drama. But in addition, working from

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, August 1879.

<sup>2</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 September, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of a London Playgoer*, 1866.



below, was the relentless lever of Henry Arthur Jones's untiring efforts to raise the dramatic taste of the English people and bring reality, seriousness, and truth back to the English drama. Those fifty years, in which so great changes took place, correspond roughly to Henry Arthur Jones's years of production and activity.

In the impressionable years of his youth Henry Arthur Jones, earning his living as a commercial traveller, turned to the theatre for intellectual recreation, and beheld with disgust its depravity and frivolity. It was all 'legs and tomfoolery',<sup>1</sup> as he declared later. Being a son of his age and beholding in the degenerate national theatre a crying social wrong, Jones without hesitation set out to reform it. Reform, open, undisguised, evangelistic, was the Victorian remedy for all ills. Therefore Jones set about in the most Victorian of methods to restore the English drama to the ranks of English literature. Modern realism doubts the possibility of producing by external applications of reform what should spring from inner necessity, and the result was what might be expected—a conscious, conscientious form of drama, faultlessly and obsequiously working out Jones's formulæ and in its very nature revealing the limitations of his scope. Jones did not realize that, though it is eminently possible to reform public taste, to create a certain attitude to the theatre, and arouse appreciation of the best in art, it may not be possible by the same methods to reform that art itself. He made the English public realise the possibilities of the drama as a great art, he made creative artists of first-rate intellect turn to the drama as a medium of expression, but he could not by talk and good example breathe into it the life-giving fire of genius. And so he and the English public got the drama they deserved, one which obeyed his precepts to the letter, carefully worked out his formulæ, was thoughtful, realistic, serious, but had no torch of inspiration or impetus of vigour to carry on to the next generation. Nevertheless Henry Arthur Jones had his place, he did his best for his generation, and it was not his fault that the soil in which he sowed his good seed was not rich enough to make it flourish and bear fruit abundantly.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Lovell Beddoes declared that 'whoever is to awaken the drama must be a bold, trampling fellow—no reviver, however good'. Henry Arthur Jones was such a one. He boldly trampled where angels

<sup>1</sup> *Standardizing the Drama*: Lecture to O.P. Club, 6 February, 1910. Reprinted in *Foundations of a National Drama*, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> In this he may be contrasted with the Elizabethan theorists, and the rich native soil upon which their seeds of criticism fell, to blossom in strength and splendour.

feared to tread; he trampled on English puritanism by daring to present religious topics on the stage; he trampled on the dignity of actors when they did not interpret his parts properly, he trampled on actor-managers' monopolies when he rented the Avenue Theatre and became the author-manager for *The Crusaders*; he boldly tackled dramatic forms for which he had no aptitude, he boldly introduced strange realisms on the stage, he boldly carried his banner of reform up and down the country and across the Atlantic to America. In his zeal for the English drama he trampled so boldly that enemies rose up on all sides and denounced him, and Henry Arthur Jones was proud of them. He combined the qualities of missionary, and commercial traveller, had a blind passion for campaigning which burned within him long after his campaign had gained its object, and in 1913 modestly and accurately summed up his achievements in the phrase: 'I think I may claim to have been the original promoter of the English dramatic renaissance'.<sup>1</sup>

Possibilities of an English dramatic renaissance had already shown obscure glimmerings before Henry Arthur Jones took it upon himself to 'promote' it. Mr. Winton Tolles<sup>2</sup> has recently shown the significance of the work of Tom Taylor, who, though still trammelled in the artificial absurdities of melodrama, experimented in realism and social problems, and in such a play as *Arkwright's Wife* (1877) proved a direct inspiration of the handling of social problems in Jones's *The Middleman*. In the 1860's, when Jones was still a child, and while Henry Morley and Matthew Arnold were bewailing the state of the English theatre, the unlucky, impetuous, inspired Tom Robertson had, in a 'dusty little hole' in the Tottenham Court Road, seen the light. He produced *Society* (1865), *Caste* (1867), and *Ours* (1868), and then died 'with the laurel wreath scarce planted on his brow', as his son stated. Here were the first manifestations of the social drama, with recognizable English characters, recognizable English backgrounds, and recognizable human motives. Instead of the pale languishings of a Claude Melnotte or the lurid machinations of a Lady Audley, here were Tom Stylus shouting for the education of the masses, the chronically unemployed Eccles shouting for the rights of the working man, the aristocratic Hawtree upholding the 'inexorable law of caste', and all with a definite social thesis behind it. Henry Arthur Jones was quick to notice this brief flowering, hailed it as the

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *The Divine Gift*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tom Taylor and the Victorian Drama*, Columbia University Press, 1941.

English dramatic renaissance and adopted a proprietary attitude towards it for the rest of his life.

The Victorians had cultivated everything but their theatre. Drama was not their natural medium of expression, although they had plenty to express: as Henry Morley said, 'the men of genius who would have written plays for the Elizabethan public are the novelists of our time'. The drama played no part in the national life, there was no link between the garish theatre and the dignified literature. It was the ideal of Henry Arthur Jones to forge the link and raise the theatre from the category of tight-rope dancers and wax-work shows to that of Shakespeare and the Bible.

He preached, exhorted, ranted, with the crusading spirit of a General Booth: he wrote plays and books and pamphlets—plays to attract the public, plays to show what the drama should be, plays to earn money to keep his large, expensive family. None of these plays was great, nobody remembers them now, and his propaganda can only be found in the most extensive of libraries. How then can he be said to have influenced the modern English drama? The answer is that it was precisely by writing these bad, attractive plays, by delivering these catchy lectures, by shamelessly exercising all the specious arts of persuasion and advertisement learnt in the world of commerce and despised by the true artist or academic, that he filled his own peculiar niche in the development of the English drama. His greatest qualification was that he was not too good for his job, which was to bring the English back to the theatre, in no flippant, frivolous mood, but ready to have their minds improved and their spirits refreshed, to make them not only appreciate, but demand, a serious drama. This he undoubtedly did, as can be checked by descriptions of audiences to be found in the comments of critics. They ceased to be composed of the 'mashers' referred to by Max Beerbohm,<sup>1</sup> who 'nightly gathered at the Gaiety Theatre' and 'nightly in the foyer . . . lisped the praises of Kate Vaughan, her graceful dancing or of Nellie Farren, her matchless fooling'. By 1889, when Jones's own play *Wealth* was produced, the press grew lyrical about the quality of the audience—'It was brilliant. It was artistic. Every other face was a well-known one, and it would have been difficult to pick out many heads belonging to absolute nobodies'.<sup>2</sup>

To fulfil his own particular function Jones required the qualities of showman as well as artist. This meant that the intrinsic value of

<sup>1</sup> 'The 1880's': *Yellow Book*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 April, 1889.

his work was not so important to him as its power to attract attention: he must prostitute his art in order to exalt it. He himself well knew what he was doing; in the *New Review* of July 1891 he wrote: 'The wise statesman does not attempt to make laws too far in advance of the moral and intellectual condition of the people . . . the playwright must not disdain to be popular.' He realized that he must compromise between giving the public what they wanted, and making them appreciate better things. All that the public then wanted was farce, burlesque or melodrama. The form which offered most opportunities for the introducer of serious drama was melodrama, which presented a clearly-marked conflict between right and wrong, with agony sensationally produced and extensively prolonged and a satisfying triumph of right in the end. Jones had to set to work upon an audience who watched a play with about as much detached interest as a crowd at a football match. In 1882, when he was gaining a footing on the stage, the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 18 November had an illuminating comment on audiences in the critique of Tennyson's *Promise of May*: 'As the transpontine gods hiss the villain of a melodrama, sinking all consideration of his dramatic merits in the depth of their indignation at his moral defects, so even our most enlightened audiences, whenever a serious question is touched upon, insist on treating all utterances on the subject as if they were the personal opinions of a party orator, and not the constituent elements of a work of mimetic art.' It was useless to present to such an audience dramatic conflict and detached argument, and Jones knew it. He must lead gently, by the familiar paths of melodrama.

In 1882 he was given his chance, when Wilson Barrett, impressed by the various short plays he had written as curtain-raisers, commissioned him to write a full-length play, and he produced *The Silver King*. This contained all the ingredients of the old blood-and-thunder melodrama of the past—murder, misunderstanding, injustice, wronged hero, unmitigated villain, spotless heroine. Yet all this traditional agony was presented with a humanity and understanding, and with a competent appreciation of the English language which brought out the aged Matthew Arnold on a cold December night, and led him to describe the play as having 'sobriety and truth' and being 'literature'. By reason of its original scenes, exciting action and expressive dialogue, and by reason of the striking power of such a line as 'O God, put back Thy universe and give me yesterday!' *The Silver King* lingers as a 'grand old play' in the memory of those

who saw it acted. It is a 'grand old play' because, though it follows the old-fashioned tradition of sensational incident, it yet has some interest in human character, and the characters are treated as persons, not merely as machines for carrying out the demands of the plot and responding to its harrowing situations. There was some attempt at psychology, at relating incident to the nature of the characters, making them 'constituent elements of a work of mimetic art' and not mere victims to be wept over or villains to be hissed. This was the first step in Jones's education of the public, for it proved highly popular, and gave him a name to emblazon on his banner.

For all that, it was only melodrama, and in no way satisfied his ideal for the serious drama. The next year saw the production of what he considered to be an example of 'serious drama', and what remains a landmark, albeit an ugly one, in the development of the modern English theatre. *Saints and Sinners* was produced in 1884, with the sub-title 'A New and Original Drama of Modern English middle-class life'. 'Drama' was the specific nineteenth-century term for any play of serious content; that is, anything which was not farce or comedy: such plays were the nearest Victorian approach to tragedy; though fraught with sorrow and strife they frequently ended happily, and in any event lacked the depth and dignity to merit the title of tragedy. *Saints and Sinners* was the first of the long line of such plays produced by Jones. In it Jones achieved his statesmanlike compromise by imposing a theme of priggish religious sentiment and narrow religious satire upon a fundamentally melodramatic seduction plot. The villain Fanshawe lures the innocent Letty Fletcher from her Sunday School picnics and Dorcas meetings to worse than death, true to melodramatic tradition, but there is a daring side-theme in the presentation of two members of the Reverend Jacob Fletcher's congregation. These two shopkeepers, Hoggard and Prabble, are a satirical embodiment of the hypocrisy of Victorian religion. They only attend the church in order to attract customers; religion is a commercial bargain. As Prabble says to Fletcher, 'If I support your chapel, I expect you to get the congregation to support my shop'. Needless to say, the play aroused defensive indignation in the uneasy public mind, and allegations of blasphemy in thus daring to present religious topics on the stage. However, it shows Jones earnestly struggling to represent thought and real life on the stage, and is therefore worthy of note, though not to be dwelt upon, owing to its embarrassing sentiment and clumsy technique.

Explaining his inclusion of Henry Arthur Jones in his *English Dramatists of Today* (1882), William Archer said that it was for his 'earnestness of purpose'. This admirable quality upheld him throughout all adversity, and he pursued his ideal of the serious drama, with the zeal of a fanatic, not to be put off by cynics, puritans or mere amusement-hunters, yet always patiently hanging back and leading his flock by the familiar paths of melodrama. He was indefatigable, and in the lowest ebbs of theatrical production he was to be found doggedly putting out plays, of no particular merit, but of overwhelming earnestness of purpose. In 1887 *The Times*, which had for some time been keeping an interested eye on Jones, and expecting great things from him, remarked that the theatre was largely dependent on his work for its existence.

In 1889 he produced *The Middleman*. This is a melodramatic exposition of the theme of Capital and Labour: on the one side is Chandler, the owner of a pottery, all greed, injustice, cruelty and malice; on the other is Blenkarn, his employee, all self-sacrifice, long-suffering, artistic zeal and nobility of thought. Black is black and white is white and there is no intervening shade of grey. Chandler is a direct descendant of the villains, but his villainy offends against the welfare of a gifted craftsman, not against the virtue of an innocent maiden; he is a social menace, not a swashbuckling seducer. That is the great step which Jones had taken. He had opened up a new range of emotions, a new scope for dramatic villainy, and endeavoured to bring it into line with the particular villainies of his age. He was striving to bring to the stage the social awareness which was alive in the contemporary novels and pamphlets, and yet his medium forced him to put himself always into a melodramatic attitude of mind, giving Chandler no good points, and Blenkarn no bad ones. They are both designed to draw from the audience the same emotions as the old melodramas, though for different reasons: indignation, pity, satisfaction at the downfall of villainy and the triumph of virtue are the feelings Jones works upon. Blenkarn calls down vengeance upon his employer in ranting curtain speeches going straight back to *Plot and Passion* or *Lady Audley's Secret*:

Show me some way to bring him to the dust! Give him and his dearest into my keeping! Make them clay in my hands that I may shape and mould them as I choose and melt them like wax in the fire of my revenge!

This was crude, old-fashioned, melodramatic, but *The Times* of 28 August, 1889, called it 'by far the most original . . . and . . .



literary play of the year' and declared that the public had 'seen a psychological play without knowing it'. There would not seem to be any deep psychology in this play for a modern playgoer, but it shows the critic of *The Times* grasping the fact that this play, with its new problems and sources of emotion, depended on character and not upon situation for its effect. It was a stepping-stone, preparing the way for such a play as *Strife*. That was the important point. The perfectly-balanced, impartial presentation of the conflict between Galsworthy's directors and employees would never have found an audience if Jones had not trained them to apprehend the possibilities of such a theme by presenting it in the familiar trappings of melodrama.

In his own day Jones appeared 'daring' and 'advanced', not because he was ahead of his time, but because he was exactly in step with its foremost ranks. He put on the stage ideas and theories which people heard discussed in advanced drawing-rooms and common-rooms, and which were already accepted and labelled by society as its latest advances in thought. It was in this that Jones's own nature was so eminently suited to his mission. His emphasis on the necessity of keeping down to the level of public taste covers up a fundamental weakness. He was not himself capable of anything greater, although he believed that he was. His was an ordinary, workaday mind—sound, level, sensible, middle-class—but lacking the fire and courage to enable him to comprehend the tragic passions: importance rather than greatness, self-pity rather than pity, worry rather than terror, are the qualities and emotions which make up his plays, and keep them smugly, comfortably below the level of tragedy. When he tried to write what he thought was a really great play it became an embarrassing conglomeration of false values, such as *Michael and His Lost Angel* (1894), or a shapeless piece of sentimental sententiousness, such as *The Divine Gift* (1913). Jones was always building greater than he knew, but for that very reason he served his purpose and was great in being not too great.

Jones shouted for ideas to be put on the stage instead of the prevalent 'legs and tomfoolery', but this did not necessarily mean startling, original or revolutionary ideas; it simply meant using ideas as good working material in place of the traditional orgies of emotion and extravagant situations. He was to leave the great ideas for the great dramatists. The public is slow to acquire new habits of mind, and to step straight from feasts of sensation to the assimilation of unheard-of

ideas, such as those of Shaw, would have been too much for its mental digestion. If it had not been for Henry Arthur Jones's painstaking airing of familiar subjects, Shaw, with his startling iconoclasm, would have remained a pamphleteer, or at best a cult of the Sunday afternoon theatre-goer in obscure suburban theatre-clubs. Nothing revolutionary ever happens to the English people unless they are unaware that it is happening. If at all noticeable, revolutionaries are consigned to the police, the lunatic asylum or mere oblivion, and the modern English drama and dramatists were saved from any of these fates by a process of developing gradually through the intermediary activities of Henry Arthur Jones.

The link which Jones forged is clearly seen in a comparison of his play *The Physician* (1897) with Shaw's *The Doctor's Dilemma* (1906). The sub-title of Jones's play was 'A new play of modern life'. In it he attempted to dramatize the self-conscious *mal-de-siècle* fashionable at the time. His Doctor Carey declares himself to have 'caught the disease of our time, of our society, of our civilization. Middle age. Disillusionment. My youth's gone. My beliefs are gone. I enjoy nothing. I believe in nothing'. The sayings of this miserable defeatist are certainly full of ideas, but are heavily sententious, and neither profound nor new, and Jones makes no attempt to weave ideas implicitly into his dialogue; he has not the wit to crystallize them into sparkling epigrams, nor yet the saving touchstone of humour to set them in a proper perspective. They are presented sympathetically, not with humorous scorn. The construction and treatment are pure melodrama. The disillusioned doctor is cured of his unhealthy infatuation for a *femme fatale* in furs and perfume by falling in love with the pure, white-muslin-clad daughter of a country parson. This spotless innocent loves a deplorable scoundrel, and it is the doctor's melodramatic duty to try to cure his beloved's sweetheart of the dipsomania of which he in the end, fortunately, dies. Jones does, however, in this painful situation aim at some sort of dramatic conflict in emotions, combined with an effort after the new tendency to represent 'problems' on the stage. Carey says to himself: 'I hate him! Damn him! I hate him! For he stands between her and me. Here's the strange thing. I hate him, but I want to save him. I begin to feel proud of the case'. Here Jones is clearly groping after a psychological study. Shaw developed a similar situation in *The Doctor's Dilemma*, with all the difference in effect between the work of a competent, well-meaning man of the theatre adding a few commonplace ideas to

a theatrical piece, and a witty, original thinker using the theatre as a medium to express his thought. Shaw's play immeasurably transcends Jones's in the presentation of character, the range of ideas and the fundamental quality of his conception. His Dubedat, the vicious, ignorant young man with the genius for painting, is a much more subtle character than Jones's maudlin dipsomaniac. Shaw's skilful presentation of the disarming qualities in Dubedat which balance his despicable faults and make the doctors, though so eminently superior, seem so manifestly silly, is beyond Jones's power of expression. He can only present the obvious, but he can do that very well, and to an audience who had never seen a dramatic character outside Shakespeare attempting to analyse his feelings Jones seemed the profoundest of psychologists.

He made painful mistakes, his ideas were cheap, his grasp of character shallow and mediocre, but he had found a new use for the theatre. He was the first to give vent to intellectual indignation on the stage, as he did in *The Triumph of the Philistines* (1895). Here was an honest attempt at voicing in the drama a righteous grievance. During the autumn of 1894 there had appeared in the columns of *The Times* a correspondence which formed the climax of a prolonged outcry against the alleged 'immorality' of the new drama. England underwent what William Archer called 'one of its periodical panics of morality'. This particular one was occasioned by a letter in *The Times* of 4 December, 1894, from one 'X.Y.Z.' protesting against the 'immorality of Mr. Pinero's *Second Mrs. Tanqueray*', and the 'deadly dull and not always moral vulgarities of *The Masqueraders*'. It was taken up by numerous initialled quaverers who expressed their disapproval of plays which it was not seemly for a girl of fifteen to witness. This revelation of the prudery of the English incensed Jones, the more so, no doubt, because of the particularly disparaging criticisms of his *Masqueraders*. Showing great daring and originality he sat down and wrote a play about his indignation. *The Triumph of the Philistines* is the story of the downfall of a hypocritical town council who condemn and destroy on moral grounds a picture of a Bacchante and are themselves discovered in most reprehensible affairs and unscrupulous trade dealings. Jones's indignation runs away with him, and in expressing his feelings he muddles his dramatic technique. It took Shaw's generous appreciation to note his originality and sincerity, and his defence of Jones was that his plays 'are more faulty than those of most of his competitors exactly as a

row of men is more faulty than a row of lamp-posts turned out by a first-rate firm'. This brave effort in the cause of sincere realism was a sacrifice to ideals, for it was condemned by the uncompromising William Archer as 'unpleasant' and proved most unpopular.

Jones's struggle to develop the physical realism which had been tried out by Taylor and Robertson, took the naïve form of excrescent details. They were worthy attempts to bring the drama into touch with real life, but he was still too much under the influence of the old tradition to make realism part of his plot. *The Dancing Girl* (1891) is pure melodrama, but the incidental details show such startling novelities as a band of Arctic explorers, the building of a breakwater, and a sympathetic bulldog, which is intended to give one touch of naturalism to what would otherwise be a good old-fashioned soliloquy. Guisebury, bemoaning his guilty past, confides in his dog, musing, 'I let them join that cursed Arctic expedition. . . . How would you feel, Bully Boy, if you had sent a dozen poor beggars to Kingdom Come?', or 'I've ruined myself for her, Bully Boy, and now she's growing tired of me'. Not only the audience, but the actors, warmly accepted this as the height of the new realism, and Tree had himself photographed with his arm round the neck of the faithful hound. Realism of detail and surroundings was also accompanied by a certain attempt at realism of character, usually in minor characters. Jones did try to represent the England of his time, and especially to caricature the 'advanced' thinkers who upset his theories of life and his respect for British tradition. These posing intellectuals are represented in *Judah* (1890) by Sophie Jopp, a monstrosity of the 'new womanism', and her lover Juxon Prall, who chooses a career in the new cremation museum 'with a fine view overlooking the necropolis'. He continued his caricature of such oddities in *The Crusaders* (1891), a play in which he tapped the two main currents of thought in the 'nineties. Side by side with the exotic cult of 'brilliant sins and exquisite amusements' flourished the powerful movement for social reform, and in this play social reform is made the fundamental theme. The accent is on the necessity of reforming the reformers first, and the satire on the various types of social reformers, sincere and insincere, is well conceived, if unevenly developed, the whole being drawn together in the remark of Lord Burnham, 'So the net result of our reforming London is a revolution in America and twopence on the Income Tax'.

It would seem from this review of Jones's achievements that he

lacked nothing to make him a brilliant exponent of the new drama, with sympathy for his characters, social awareness, humorous observation, sincerity and seriousness of purpose. Why then did he never write a single good drama? The answer is to be found in Jones's own nature. His own nature led him to occasional lapses into gross bad taste, which springs from a fundamental exhibitionism and cheapness of values. Jones never could, as William Archer said, 'penetrate the deep places of the soul'; he always tended to stress the superficial, obvious and sentimental. In *Michael and his Lost Angel* it is the clerical collar rather than the inward soul which is offended by Michael's entanglement with Audrie Lesden; in *Judah* he has conceived a high-souled young parson, but has left him merely labelled as such, omitting to illustrate the qualities which his seductress was undermining, and therefore having to introduce life into the play by over-emphasized caricature of the minor parts. Jones's idea was sound, but his technique limited. He had not assimilated. He had observed and noted. Realism was a consciously displayed acquisition. 'Problem' was painstakingly pursued, but Jones himself seems not so much to have experienced the problem as to have cast about for 'suitable' problematic material. He had mastered all the ingredients of good drama, but had never learnt to combine them in an artistic whole, and the effect was to curdle rather than to mix.

Thus in his dramas Jones's chief claim to consideration lay in his seriousness, his perseverance, and his shouldering aside, in a somewhat lumbering, heavy manner, of the old traditions, clearing a pathway for the great drama to come. He introduced a new technique, a new outlook, and widened the range of drama from the limitations of love, hate and sudden death, to include religion, politics, moral hypocrisy, social shortcomings and marriage problems. His serious plays, with the exception of *The Silver King*, which, in aspiring only to be melodrama, proved to be the best of the century, were all full of faults, and lacking in true comprehension and quality of conception, but yet valuable in showing the possibilities of the serious drama, and by their theatrical effectiveness, in keeping it in touch with the people. He had the same outlook on life, the same grasp of significances, as any ordinary, middle-class reader of *The Times*, and this was the public for which he was roughly but helpfully outlining the shape of things to come.

Besides his serious dramas, which he earnestly believed to be the backbone of his campaign, Jones produced numerous comedies and

voluminous propaganda. His comedies, though much better works of art than his dramas, were not so significant in the development of the English drama. They were valuable in keying up the tradition from low comedy to high comedy and comedy of manners; they compare favourably with the artificialities of Sardou and Albery, they stand up to the brilliance of Wilde in their honesty and good humour, and they represent the best of Jones's creative effort and an attempt to widen comedy into topical satire, and give it a human basis. *The Liars* is a classic example of the flawlessly constructed comedy of manners, serving the nineteenth century as Sheridan served the eighteenth. The other comedies have all some one feature, such as the introduction of social satire, the use of some striking new scene, or realism, which contributes to the broadening of the scope of comedy, but it is more in his failures in serious plays than in his success in comedy that Jones's significance lies.

Jones's propaganda was untiring, and vast, infinitely varied in delivery, but invariably similar in content. He had some half-dozen maxims which he introduced in some form or other into every paper he wrote or speech he delivered. These were sound, sensible and clear. They never lapsed into the bad taste of his plays, but were an indication of what he would like his plays to have been. He constantly reiterated that he was but 'laying down a few simple rules' for the production of good drama, and these rules he drove home with the persistence of a sledge hammer, continuing to do so long after they had been accepted and incorporated into all representative plays of the time.

Jones's contribution to the development of the drama is only to be assessed by comparison with other movements which sprang up alongside him. After Ibsen had thrown the country into a state of what William Archer called 'moral epilepsy', there began a period of great talk about the drama among an excited band of reformers, of whom Jones was the leader and loudest. In 1891 William Archer declared in *The Fortnightly*: 'We are talking and perhaps thinking about the drama with unexampled fervour and pertinacity'. So talkative did all people—critics, public and dramatists—become, that in his contribution to the *English Illustrated Magazine* symposium on the drama in 1904 Sidney Grundy growled: 'The most practicable remedy would be for every newspaper and magazine and club and debating society and after-dinner orator to refrain from writing and talking about it'. Jones, therefore,



though an offender in each category, was only one of a great choir of uplifted voices.

He always declared himself to be unaffected by Ibsen, saying that his plays would have been the same if Ibsen had never existed. His first reaction to the Ibsen influence was unfortunate. He took *The Doll's House*, and with the help of Henry Herman, perpetrated a travesty of it entitled *Breaking a Butterfly* (1883). His version was provided with the requisite happy ending, in which Flossie (the English Nora), supplying the cheap romanticism demanded by English playgoers, did not walk out to 'find herself', but returned to the arms of her husband, who remarked complacently: 'Flossie was a child yesterday: to-day she is a woman'. Jones himself frankly confessed that 'the change in motive by which every particle of Ibsen's motive was obliterated was my suggestion'. In later life he was ashamed of this, and it can only be forgiven on the grounds of his eagerness to bring good drama to the theatre and his desire to make sure that it had an audience.

Whatever he might say himself, there is no doubt that Jones was influenced by Ibsen. He was quick to assimilate his themes and use of new material. He appreciated the dramatic possibilities of the new outlook. *The Crusaders*, *The Case of Rebellious Susan*, *The Hypocrites*, *Judah*, all show the Ibsen influence in their endeavour to satirize social problems. In each of these plays, however, it is apparent that Jones was not so much burning to deliver a message as recognizing good material for the theatre in such messages. He was essentially the dramatist looking for ideas, not the great thinker seeking expression. He lacked appreciation of Ibsen's profundity, and in him the Ibsen influence is always cheapened and sentimentalized. On the other hand, his criticism of Ibsen is sound, if cautious. He considered him 'a great destroyer; a great creator; a great poet; a great liberator', but yet an 'ominous figure'. He appreciated his liberation of the theatre from convention and false values, he appreciated his maxim 'Live your own life', but his English middle-class church-going soul 'longed for "Whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it"'.<sup>1</sup> He missed none of Ibsen's message, but looked upon him with the interested, objective glance of the ordinary man. He made no attempt to distil the quintessence. No doubt he recognized in him a far greater worker in his own field, and, characteristically, shrank uneasily from too enthusiastic admission of his power for fear of belittling the

<sup>1</sup> *Cornerstones of Modern Drama: Lecture to Harvard University, 1906.*

necessity for his own jealously-guarded function of promoter of the dramatic renaissance.

Jones stands out in sturdy contrast against the other two forces at work in the theatre at the end of the nineteenth century—the Irish School and Bernard Shaw. The Irish School Jones failed to notice. Never once does he mention them. Occasionally they mention him—always with disparagement. In *Beltaine* George Moore wrote disgustedly of *The Dancing Girl*—that ‘stupid, silly play’ which yet unaccountably drew the public and made money. As reformers Jones and the Irish started out from the same base, but proceeded in diametrically opposite directions. Both felt the sodden commercialism of England, the decadence of her theatrical audiences, the degradation of her drama (to the Irish a sign of the downfall of her empire). The difference lay in that the Irishmen were concerned only with the intrinsic quality of the drama, whereas Jones was concerned chiefly with its acceptance by the people. Yeats declared: ‘I would sooner our theatre failed through the indifference of our audiences than gained an immense popularity by any loss of freedom’. Jones said: ‘Playwriting exists only by virtue of immediately pleasing a large section of the public’. It was the difference in outlook between the monk and the Salvation Army leader. While the Irishmen fled to Ireland to find the ‘enchanted valleys’, Jones, with less artistic integrity but greater missionary zeal, stayed doggedly in the midst of the Philistines, went boldly into the highways and byways of his sordid England and tried to redeem it. The two methods resulted in two independent types of drama, neither of which had any influence upon the other.

Jones’s relationship with Shaw was always most friendly till their prolonged political quarrel during the Great War. Shaw, the iconoclast and shatterer of false ideals, was always surprisingly quick to appreciate and support the ideals of Henry Arthur Jones. Even the worst of Jones’s plays he excused on the grounds that for proper appreciation it was always necessary for the audience to put itself into Jones’s own attitude of mind. Perhaps he realized how much he owed to Jones, and this was his oblique method of returning thanks, for he had adopted and made his own many theories and practices which were originally established by Jones. After crying in the Preface to *Three Plays for Puritans*, ‘What is the matter with the theatre that a strong man can die of it?’, he discovered, and expounded in many prefaces and articles, what Jones had discovered

and been deploring for the last twenty years: it was never free from confusion with popular entertainment; it was crushed beneath morality panics; it was in no way literary; it sprang from a decaying civilization. These ideas he took over with the same predatory non-chalance as that with which he adopted the printing of plays as his own innovation. In 1891 Jones had published *Saints and Sinners* in a library edition, and considered it one of the most important moves in his campaign. He believed that the French habit of publishing plays was largely responsible for the flourishing condition of the French theatre, and that the creation of a reading public was one of the surest ways of establishing the modern English drama on a 'sound intellectual basis'. Shaw makes no reference to this important precedent, but publishes *Plays Unpleasant* in 1898 with all the explanatory ceremony of a new departure.

Shaw's mind is so much keener, so much more athletic and explorative than Jones's honest, plodding main-road mentality, that he covers twice as much ground and in a much more spectacular manner; but the goal he aims at is the same, and he starts from the same base. He does not take life and the drama so seriously as Jones; his criticisms are incidental and particular, whereas Jones proceeds on broad, general lines. Jones was the solemnly constructive critic, earnestly building up an ideal, whereas Shaw was the persistent, purposeful destroyer. Jones's earnestness has been obscured by the brilliance of Shaw, but nobody was quicker than Shaw to appreciate its value, and to recognize in Jones's clumsy, uneven dramas, the honest attempt to introduce new thought and life into the theatre in a form acceptable to the people, which was his individual contribution to the development of the modern English drama.

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

### NOTES ON THE TEXT OF JONSON'S MASQUES

PHYSICAL DAMAGE IN THE COPY FOR BEN JONSON'S FOLIO OF 1640-41 :—In *The Masque of Augurs* (vol. VII. pp. 623 ff. ed. Herford and Simpson, 1941) the words *King* at the beginning of verse-line 314, and *Addes* at the beginning of verse-line 378 are omitted in the Folio of 1640-41. Both are transmitted in the Quarto of 1621-22, and both are necessary for the sense and the metre, though not so necessary that anybody noticed the corruption before the Quarto was collated by the latest editors.

Such omissions are rare; their recurrence so close together at the same place in the verse-line raises the suspicion that one and the same physical cause had damaged both passages in the copy for the Folio. In the Quarto the two words stand exactly at the same place on the rectos of sign. B2 and B3, the corresponding places on the versos being blank. This proves that in this masque the copy for the Folio was a copy of the Quarto in which these two words had been destroyed, perhaps by a spark.<sup>1</sup>

Something similar seems to have happened to the copy for the Folio in another Masque, *Pleasure reconciled to Vertue* (ibid. p. 473 ff.): the words *tune* in the first half of verse-line 292 and *ever* in the first half of verse-line 316, both transmitted by a MS. contemporary with the performance (1618), are omitted in the Folio, which, however marks the lacunae. In the copy for the Folio, which for this Masque must have been a MS., they probably stood on corresponding places of recto- and verso-page; ll. 313-16 must then have been deeply indented.

A third case is presumably the following. In *The Magnetic Lady*, written 1632 (ed. Herf.-Simps. VI. 499 ff.), at IV. ii. 55 the Folio marks a lacuna in the second half of the verse, and sense as well as

<sup>1</sup> The editors thought the Folio was independent (p. 626), but Dr. Greg pointed out that their conjecture on l. 249 leads to the contrary conclusion. (*R.E.S.* xviii, [1942] 147). But that conjecture is far from convincing: the speaker's name *NOT.* may be a printer's mistake for *SLVG*, nor is it impossible that the reading of the Folio is right. There are other variants of the Folio which need further discussion.

metre confirms that a word had fallen out (*in* Whalley, *i'* Simpson). The corresponding omission occurs 35 lines earlier in the first half of the verse (*raised* Gifford, *cried* Simpson; no lacuna marked in the Folio). A page of 35 lines is not improbable for the MS. from which this play was printed.

POSTSCRIPT ON *Christmas his Masque*, LINES 110-12:—To transpose ll. 110-12 (as Dr. Greg proposes)<sup>1</sup> because l. 113 does not answer the question in l. 112 would not 'improve the dialogue' because there is no dialogue: Venus is deaf.

THE DULWICH COLLEGE MS. AND BEN JONSON'S MASQUE *TIME VINDICATED*.—In *R.E.S.* xviii (1942), p. 146 Dr. W. W. Greg refers to a note in J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert* (1917) p. 50, in which it is said that 'in the Dulwich College MS.' Jonson's Masque, *Time Vindicated*, is called *The Prince's Masque*; Dr. Greg adds: 'I know nothing of this manuscript and the editors' [Herford-Simpson VII (1941), p. 651] 'do not mention it'.

To elucidate this, three more facts are essential:

(1) Jonson's Masque, *Time Vindicated*, is called *The Prince's Masque* in the Office-book of the Master of the Revels for 1622-23, Jan. 19 [Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare* iii (1821), p. 147, Adams l.c.].

(2) In quoting (1) from 'Malone's *Hist. of the Eng. Stage*' (1790) p. 126 W. Gifford erroneously calls the Office-book—which was then a Ribbesford MS. and is now lost—'the Dulwich MS.' (*Jonson's Works* VIII. (1816) p. 2, ed. Gifford-Cunningham iii (1903) p. 169).

(3) A Dulwich College MS. containing Henslowe's *Diary* (ed. W. W. Greg, 1907-8) is one of the main sources of Malone's *Historical Account of the English Stage* (cf. *Variorum Shakespeare* iii, pp. 295 ff.).

The inferences to be drawn from these facts are:

(a) Gifford's error (2) is explained by (3).

(b) Gifford's error induced Adams to believe in a Dulwich College MS. as a witness independent of the Office-book for calling *Time Vindicated* 'The Prince's Masque'.

(c) There was never a Dulwich College MS. which called *Time Vindicated* 'The Prince's Masque'.

P. MAAS.

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Greg, 'Jonson's Masques—Points of Editorial Principle and Practice'. *R.E.S.*, vol. xviii (1942), No. 70, April, p. 146.

# ADDITIONS TO THE CORRESPONDENCE OF RICHARD STEELE

The Steele Papers in the George A. Aitken Collection at the University of Texas<sup>1</sup> contain manuscripts which supply information needed to complete the description of several letters included in my volume of Steele's *Correspondence*.<sup>2</sup> The original autographs or full copies of them are preserved there of (1) several letters printed in *The Correspondence* in a partial form or a summary, (2) several printed from Aitken's *Life*<sup>3</sup> without a fresh collation, and (3) two brief notes hitherto unnoticed.

In the first group there are four letters which can be given in full. No. 186. Steele to — Pollock [Paltock?]<sup>4</sup>:

Mr. Pollock

John Sly says I have seven pounds at your house, Be pleased to pay it him on account of /  
/ S<sup>r</sup> / Y<sup>r</sup> Most Humble Ser<sup>nt</sup> / Richard Steele / Dec<sup>br</sup> 19,  
1721 / [on the verso] December 20<sup>th</sup> 172[1] / Rec<sup>d</sup> the within  
mention[ed] seven pound by John Sly / 7—o—o / <sup>5</sup>

No. 187. Steele to [Henry] Davenant<sup>6</sup>:

Sir

The *Nightingale* was left Here with a message implying that you'd inform Me in the matter for which it was left. I presume therefore it was from You, and that this is a modest expostulation

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Professor R. H. Griffith, Curator, and Miss Fannie Ratchford, Librarian, of the Wrenn, Aitken, and Stark Collections for their kind and helpful courtesy extended to me during a visit to the University in the summer of 1941.

<sup>2</sup> *The Correspondence of Richard Steele* (Oxford University Press, 1941). The letters given below are numbered as in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> George A. Aitken, *The Life of Richard Steele* (2 vols., London, 1889).

<sup>4</sup> Possibly this is John Paltock, banker and goldsmith of Fleet Street. The transcript, which is carefully made, has it 'Pollock'; but if Steele did not write the word clearly, the misreading would be understandable. Paltock was associated with Steele's bankers, John Warner and Thomas Snow (See Letters, Nos. 55, 72, 81). He was known to be with Warner from 1700 to 1716. In 1716 and later, the firm was called John Paltock and Co., and in 1728 it was amalgamated with that of Thomas Snow (F. G. Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers 1677-1876*, 1891).

John Sly is remembered as Steele's mugg-house friend, who acted as observer for *The Spectator* (Nos. 187, 526, 532, 545, 545). He died on 14 April 1729 (See *The Evening Post*, 15 April).

<sup>5</sup> MS.: a copy of an autograph note signed, the original having been sold by Sotheby on 4 Feb. 1876, the property of John Bullock, to Arthur Preston of Norwich, who made a copy for Aitken. The letter is not mentioned in *The Life* and is printed in *The Correspondence* from the summary of a *Sales Catalogue*.

<sup>6</sup> There is no record of Davenant's play (?) having been produced or printed. Steele is speaking of Ambrose Philips's tragedy *The Briton*, produced at Drury



and demand upon me to Interfere for you at the Theatre. All that I can say is that I am utterly passive, but only to take upon Me, to Censure plays with an intention to preserve my Self against a discontinuance of my Patent. When I had read my Comedy I heard that Mr. Philipp's Tragedy was in the House, as soon as this was intimated as a difficulty how to act between Him and Me I gave Him the preference as I am ready to do to You, or any other Gentleman who shall labour for the Stage; And as Y<sup>r</sup> was sent Me for examination You Know I finished that sooner than could be expected for I remitted it the next day.

I beleive M<sup>r</sup> Welsted with whome I have liv'd in greater familiarity and who had three Acts in the House before any one else this Season nay before I went to Scotland, is still more offended because His Work does not appear, But indeed I cannot help it, and as I am but upon a doubtfull Foot, till My Lord Chamberlain is pleased to go further in my favour and admission of my right, I am but an Adventurer any more than any other body that writes for the Stage.

Please to lay all this together and propose to Me what I can do for Your Service and You will find Me very unreservedly, /  
/ S<sup>r</sup> / Y<sup>r</sup> Most Obedient / Humble Ser<sup>nt</sup> / Richard Steele /  
Jan. 30<sup>th</sup> 1721 / M<sup>r</sup> Davenant / [Endorsed on the verso—Aitken states]<sup>2</sup> Henry Davenant Esq. / <sup>1</sup>

No. 191. William Addisson (sic) to Steele<sup>2</sup>:

S<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Steel

Having had the Hon<sup>r</sup> to see you at M<sup>r</sup> Hunters the Printers in Bull head Court in Jewin Street, I beg the favour of you (now the gout hath put me past all my Labour) to intercede with some of the Nobility of your Acquaintance to Put me into the Charterhouse to Prevent my Dying of Want. Inclosed is a list of the Governours and at present I am inform'd there are six vacancys in the house.

If it please God to touch your hart in my behalfe I hope he'll

Lane the following month, and his own comedy *The Conscious Lovers*, in November, 1722. Leonard Welsted's *Dissembled Wanton* was eventually staged in December, 1726, at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Steele's differences with the Lord Chamberlain which kept him upon a doubtful foot had been settled ostensibly in May, 1721, when, after a period of disfavour, he was reinstated as Governor of Drury Lane.

<sup>1</sup> MS.: a copy of an ALs, 3 pp., 4to. The original was sold by Sotheby on 27 July 1887 to Barker, from whom Aitken secured his copy. It was again sold in January, 1916, in New York at the Anderson Galleries from the collection of John Boyd Thacher. The summary printed in *The Correspondence* is that given by Aitken in *The Life*.

<sup>2</sup> Addisson has not been identified; possibly he is an acquaintance who appeals to Steele as a fellow Whig. [William] Hunter is mentioned in a list of London printers classified by their political parties, which was drawn up by Samuel Negus in 1724. He is described there as 'well affected to King George' (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes* I, 290.).

be your just Reward for I have nothing Left to give nor Indeed that I can Promise but my Prayers which shall never cease for your prosperity.

With the Profoundest Respect I beg to Subscribe my Self /  
/ Your most Dutiful Most / humble most obliged and most /  
Obedient Servant / Wm Addisson / May 16<sup>th</sup> 1722 / [on the  
verso] For S<sup>r</sup> Richard Steel Knt / humbly present / <sup>1</sup>

No. 414. Morgan Davies to Steele.<sup>2</sup> As the original letter contains particulars not given in the printed version, it is reproduced here:

Heryford March 16<sup>th</sup> 1712<sup>3</sup>

S<sup>r</sup>

I rec<sup>d</sup> yo<sup>rs</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup>. And am very Much oblig<sup>d</sup> to yo<sup>r</sup> Lady for the great favour you Menso<sup>n</sup><sup>d</sup> therein: Hoping that I shall not only Make you the fairest acc<sup>ts</sup> as to what is past, but shall if you & yo<sup>r</sup> Lady thinkes me Capable Serve you according to the trust that shall be reposed in me

I delivered yours to M<sup>r</sup> Newsham and for y<sup>r</sup> Satisfaction I have inclosed his Answer und<sup>r</sup> his owne Hand, as you may the bett<sup>r</sup> give me your directions therein

I hope in a little time for to draw up yo<sup>r</sup> acc<sup>ts</sup> whereby you May finde the value of yo<sup>r</sup> Estate and how all things are. I have sev<sup>ll</sup> Count<sup>r</sup>partes of Leases deliv<sup>d</sup> me by M<sup>rs</sup> Scurlocke w<sup>ch</sup> shall be deliver<sup>d</sup> you w<sup>n</sup> shall fitt

I shall be glad to hear w<sup>n</sup> you intend for the Country for I was in hopes I might have p<sup>re</sup>vailed for liberty to come from hence for London, but that wo<sup>d</sup> not be granted untill our Cercutes [?] are all over. And that I co<sup>d</sup> have tyme to make some stay in London w<sup>ch</sup> I co<sup>d</sup> not well doe now

Pray give my most hum<sup>ble</sup> Service to yo<sup>r</sup> Lady w<sup>th</sup> the assurance of my being yo<sup>rs</sup> and her Ladyships /

/ Most Oblig<sup>d</sup> hum<sup>ble</sup> Ser<sup>vt</sup> / Morvim Davies / [Addressed on the verso] For the Hon<sup>ed</sup> Richard Steele Esq<sup>e</sup> / at his house in Bloomesbery Square / London / <sup>3</sup>

In the second group there are three items, printed in *The Correspondence* from *The Life*, now collated with the original manuscripts, which Aitken used.

<sup>1</sup> MS.: a copy of an ALs, 1 p., folio. The original was sold by Sotheby on 1 July 1920 from the Blenheim MSS. From the original, then at Blenheim Palace, Aitken made his own transcript. A summary only is printed in *The Life* and *The Correspondence*.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, Steele's Welsh agent, is premature in speaking of her ladyship. Steele was not knighted until 1715.

<sup>3</sup> MS.: ALs, 1 p. folio. Postmark and black wax seal intact. In 1889 when Aitken printed the letter in *The Life* the original was in the collection of Mrs. W. H. Wills. It was sold by Sotheby in June, 1908, and subsequently advertized by Tregaskis of London in *Catalogue* No. 669, April, 1909.

No. 416. Mrs. Steele to Steele.<sup>1</sup> The two or three variations in capitalization and spelling between manuscript and printed form are of no consequence. But the omission in the latter of a word in the original is worth noting. It is the word 'often' in the sentence: '... I may be answer'd as severely in writing as I have often been by Speech ...'

No. 499. Mrs. Steele to George Lewis.<sup>2</sup>

P. 536. A prayer by Steele, 'O let the mighty power of thy grace'.<sup>3</sup>

In the third group there are the two following notes apparently not printed at all by Aitken, who made his transcripts from the originals in the Blenheim MSS.<sup>4</sup> As further testimonials of the essential kindness of Steele's nature they are worthy the light of print.

Richard Bacon to Steele<sup>5</sup>:

Worthy S<sup>r</sup>

Your generous Character of being a friend to the unfortunate induc'd me to present the enclosed Ode on Our Saviour's passion to you, The author humbly hopes he has done nothing therein so displeasing but that when he shall beg leave to attend, he may receive your favourable answer, and as in duty bound he will ever remain /

S<sup>r</sup> / Your most obedient / and most devoted / Humble Serv<sup>t</sup> / Rich<sup>d</sup> Bacon / [Addressed on the verso] Sir Richard Steele, K<sup>nt</sup> / In York Buildings / In the Strand / These /

<sup>1</sup> MS.: ALs (initials), 2 pp., 4to., n.d., [March, 1713?]. In 1889 this autograph letter belonged to a Miss Mills, the adopted daughter of a kinsman of Mrs. Steele—John Trevor Scurlock. It was sold by Sotheby on 4 June 1908; and thereafter came into the possession of Aitken, possibly by purchase from Tregaskis, who advertized it in *Catalogue* No. 669, April, 1909, and subsequently.

<sup>2</sup> MS.: a copy of a draft Ls, 1 p., 8vo., n.d. [(1716 Aitken) 1713-15?]. Endorsed on the verso in a hand which seems not to be that of Mrs. Steele: 'Coppys of Letters to unkle George Lewis.' In 1889 this draft letter was in the possession of Mrs. W. H. Wills. It had the same subsequent history as Nos. 414 and 416.

<sup>3</sup> MS.: 1 p., 8vo., a copy made presumably by the Rev. David Scurlock, Junior (1737-93) of Lovehill House, Langley, Bucks, a member of Lady Steele's family. In 1889 this fragment was in the possession of Mrs. Wills. It was sold by Sotheby on 4 June 1908.

<sup>4</sup> These may or may not have been among the manuscripts sold from that collection by Sotheby in 1920. They seem not to be mentioned in the *Sales Catalogues*; but I did not notice them among the Steele Papers, when I had the privilege of examining the collection at Blenheim Palace in 1938.

<sup>5</sup> MS.: a copy of an ALs, n.d., [(1715? Aitken's pencilled note) 1712-16]. Aitken's date is probably based on the address. At Steele's little theatre in the York Buildings he planned to present verse, religious and secular, set to music; and the only entertainment recorded was given in 1715. But arrangements were planned and suitable poems were being solicited as early as the winter of 1712-13 and as late as the spring of 1716. The unknown writer may have been seeking publication in *The Spectator* or *The Guardian*.

Steele to —(?)<sup>1</sup>:

Dr S<sup>r</sup>

I give you this trouble to begg of you that you would call for the Petition of M<sup>r</sup> Hevelt [Hewitt?] who has made some discovery relating to the Crown Lands, and has a pretension to some regard for it. He is a modest and a Worthy man for whom it will be a generous thing to do this Act of Justice of Having petition, post [?] considered<sup>2</sup>

RAE BLANCHARD.

### GILDON'S 'FORTUNATE SHIPWRECK' AS BACKGROUND FOR GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

As part of his *Miscellanea Aurea*, published for Bettesworth and Pemberton in 1720, Charles Gildon included a thirty-eight-page narrative in the form of a letter entitled 'The Fortunate Shipwreck, or a Description of New Athens, being an Account of the Laws, Manners, Religion, and Customs of that Country; by Morris Williams, Gent. who resided there above Twenty Years', according to the title-page, or 'A Description Of New Athens In Terra Australis incognita. By one who resided many Years upon the Spot,' as given in the title heading on page 80.<sup>3</sup> No passage in this narrative comes

<sup>1</sup> MS.: a copy of a draft letter in Steele's handwriting; n.d., [1724?]. Aitken describes the handwriting as being 'very shaky and obscure'. A letter of March, 1724, is similarly written (No. 201) following a serious illness. The reference to Crown Lands suggests Steele's technical knowledge of the subject as a member of the Commission for Forfeitures in Scotland, a post he held from 1716 to about 1722.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted here that the autograph draft letter, No. 130, Steele to [Jonathan] Smedley, 31 March 1718, and the autograph letter No. 513, Lady Steele to Steele [Feb., 1717], are now in the collection of Professor George Sherburn. Both of these documents were sold from the Blenheim MSS. by Sotheby and purchased by Maggs Brothers on 1 July 1920. The originals of Nos. 186 and 187, described above, and the draft letter mentioned last are missing, as are also a number printed in *The Correspondence*, which, there is good reason to believe, have not perished: Nos. 8, 10, 49, 57, 71, 74, 86, 121, 137, 190, 196, 268, 271, 275, 314, 362, 393, 655.

<sup>3</sup> The rather scarce *Miscellanea Aurea* is not mentioned by Leslie Stephen in the *D.N.B.* article on Gildon, nor by Paul Dottin in his biography, introducing Gildon's *Robinson Crusoe Examin'd and Criticis'd* (London and Paris, 1923). Although parts of it have been assigned to Thomas Killigrew, the younger, there seems to me little doubt that Gildon wrote most of the pieces in the volume. Practically stating that he is the author, he signs the dedication to John (Sheffield), Duke of Buckinghamshire, who in 1702 had allowed his *Essay on Poetry* to be included in Gildon's *Examen Miscellaneum*, and several passages repeat ideas which Gildon had expressed in other writings. A poem of fifty-one lines entitled 'The Fable of Aemilius, and the Statue of Venus' is included in *Miscellanea Aurea* on pp. 194-5 under the name of Killigrew (who died on 14 February, 1718/19). Mention of this poem by Joseph Knight in the *D.N.B.* seems to have been the basis, without regard to the dedication, for attributing most of *Miscellanea Aurea* to Killigrew in Halkett and Laing's *Dictionary*, which in turn is the reference cited

close enough to anything in *Gulliver's Travels* to justify printing quotations from each side by side; a few passages, nevertheless, suggest similar situations which make of this hitherto overlooked work a significant background for *Gulliver*. A presumption follows that Swift may have known it.

Lacking direct evidence, one finds more reasons for assuming that Swift did know *Miscellanea Aurea* than that he did not. Even the fact that it was not in his library at his death is not entirely negative: it was hardly the kind of book that Swift would have cared about owning or keeping on his shelves for twenty-five years. In the introduction to 'Polite Conversation', probably written around 1730, Swift says: 'I am, and have been, likewise, particularly acquainted with Mr. Charles Gildon. . . .'<sup>1</sup> Though written depreciatingly in its context, as if to say 'Unfortunately I know that scribbler much too well', the statement is true and can be carried back at least to 1708 when Swift in 'Remarks' on Tindall's *Rights of the Christian Church* groups Gildon with other enemies of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Again Gildon turns up more than once as an objectionable hack in Swift's correspondence with Pope,<sup>3</sup> against whom Gildon helped John Dennis write *A True Character of Mr. Pope* in 1717.<sup>4</sup> To believe that Swift, even in Dublin, was not aware of what Gildon was writing and publishing in 1720 is almost like saying that Pope was ignorant of the literary efforts of Dennis. An assumption, however, that Swift actually read what Gildon wrote is entirely unwarranted without evidence.

The pseudonymous Morris Evans (or Maurice, as the letter is signed in the text) and his companion, the two principal travellers in the 'Fortunate Shipwreck', having passed through several cities in by the Library of Congress. The 'Fortunate Shipwreck' is addressed to 'J— H— Esq; at his House near Holborn', probably John Hughes, whose death on 17 February, 1719/20 would suggest that *Miscellanea Aurea* appeared during that winter, two full years after Killigrew's death. If anyone contends with convincing proof that Killigrew or another than Gildon wrote this piece, the main point of my article would not be upset, but the second paragraph would become erroneously superfluous. [In a letter which accompanied his article Dr. Gove suggested that the uncertainty about the authorship of *Miscellanea Aurea* might be accounted for if the copy in the British Museum lacked the signed dedication which is found in a copy in Columbia University. The British Museum copy does contain a 6 pp. dedication—To the most Noble | JOHN | Duke of Buckingham- | shire and Normanby, (sigs. A2-A4v)—but it is unsigned.—ED. R.E.S.]

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1907), XI, 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Prose Works*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1939), II, 72.

<sup>3</sup> See *Correspondence*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1911-12), II, 329 (30 August, 1716); III, 283 (15 October, 1725); III, 293-4 (26 November and 14 December, 1725).

<sup>4</sup> Dottin, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

which the people were 'actuated by the same Passions of Avarice, Envy and Malice, which are so common in *Europe*, divided by the same Factions and Parties, both in Politicks and Religion', arrive at the 'vast unpassable Mountains, which Nature seems to have made as the Barrier betwixt these wretched People, and those happy Men who inhabit the other Side of it'.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the wretched people had been banished from the other side for such insufferable crimes as avarice, ingratitude, and unchristian dealing and were presumably forbidden to ride in the pulley-raised machines by which the travellers pass up and over the impassable barrier.

Once over, they find themselves on a 'very large fair Plain', the beginning of a delicious country boasting two principal cities, Athens and Romana. This country is not Greece and Italy in semi-disguise; for imagining the *terra australis incognita* of the title the author can do no better than vaguely transplant Mediterranean place-names, which, however, reveal the origins of the inhabitants who, as it later develops, had long before migrated from ancient Greece to avoid the consequences of its approaching corruption and downfall. In an expedition 'of three Years Continuance, thro' strange Countries, vast Deserts and the like', 100,000 Greeks finally had arrived upon a new Australian continent inhabited by 150,000 affable, courteous, and docile aborigines: 'In short, they soon made the old Inhabitants Christians; and by marrying and intermarrying among them, grew together into one People'.<sup>2</sup>

Before being allowed to proceed among these new Athenians, the travellers, whose hosts fortunately can still speak Latin, are inspected and marked

in the Face with a most lovely and beautiful Flower, which was so far from being a Mark of Infamy, that it was our Security and Honour; for by that every one was oblig'd, wherever we came, to receive and use us with Respect and Hospitality: But another Use of this Mark was to hinder us from ever going out of their Country, lest by the Discovery we had made, we should bring others to invade it.<sup>3</sup>

Thus distinguished, the travellers by chariot and ship finally reach New Athens, a beautiful utopian city, 'built of a curious white Stone, and with perfect Regularity'<sup>4</sup> around a central cathedral. Through its straight streets and canals runs a high street eight miles long leading to the royal palace. Once the visitors have settled and learned

<sup>1</sup> P. 81. One of Capt. Siden's companions, who recounts part of the narrative in *Histoire des Sévarambes* by Veiras, was named Maurice.

<sup>2</sup> P. 114.

<sup>3</sup> P. 83.

<sup>4</sup> P. 85.



the native language, the impact of the European and the Australian cultures provides fireworks.

The New Athenians lacked two major refinements of civilization, in one of which, the innocuous art of printing, Morris instructs them. In the meantime his comrade conducts an extensive course in the invention and use of gunpowder, although at first it proves 'a difficult Matter to make them apprehend what he meant'.<sup>1</sup> After the people grasp its potentialities, they enthusiastically fortify their city walls and endorse the construction of seven ships to mount heavy guns.

But the King, that he might not give any Umbrage to the great Emperor of *Romana*, dispatch'd Ambassadors to him to let him know the wonderful Discoveries this Stranger had made, with Assurances of sending him to him, whenever he should command, that he might not want those Advantages against the common Enemy, which seem'd of that Importance to the publick Safety.<sup>2</sup>

Before the emperor of *Romana* has time to command, barbarians from 'near the Southern pole' appear in a fleet of three hundred ships to attack New Athens 'without even declaring any War'—apparently a barbarian's prerogative in the early eighteenth century. Morris's companion with his seven armed ships effectively introduces havoc among the enemy fleet, 'scarce twenty of which got home to their own Country'; in other words he heroically sinks about 280 unarmed ships. As a result he is 'made free of that Nation', enjoys a public triumph, receives royal gifts, and is 'admitted to the King's own Table';<sup>3</sup> eating with royalty symbolizes to the imaginary voyager what wedding the princess symbolizes to the chivalric knight.

Beyond narrating this resounding victory, Morris himself is not much concerned with warlike enterprise and never bothers to inform the reader how during the next twenty years the emperor of *Romana* became equipped with guns and avoided an inevitable clash with his generous fellow-ruler. Instead he launches upon a long account of the New Athenian theatre, an account of little interest to anyone keeping in the back of his mind *Gulliver's Travels*, which recognizes the theatrical only in the acrobatic allusions of Lilliput and the side-show scenes of Brobdingnag. But it is a subject close to Gildon's lifetime interests, and brief mention of the principal points should be given here.

However backward these people were in the arts of printing and warring with gunpowder, they had developed a surpassing mastery of the drama. Gildon necessarily must sidestep illustrating from their

<sup>1</sup> P. 90.

<sup>2</sup> P. 91.

<sup>3</sup> P. 92.

plays; instead he discusses their reception of English works, as translated by Morris, who neglects to explain how after a shipwreck he happened to have a small library with him. Most successful is *Samson Agonistes*, performed 'with wonderful Art, the Musical Notes being perfectly adapted to express the Words with greatest Harmony', and received 'with the highest Applause'.<sup>1</sup> Morris realizes from his conversations with Hermogenes, a leading member of the Society of Poets, that England has nothing else worthy of presentation upon their stage. Nevertheless, with apprehension he translates Otway's *Orphan* and *Venice Preserved*:

at the same time that they acknowledg'd the Poet's Mastery in the Draught of the Passions, especially that of Pity, they assur'd me that his Breach of the Unity of Place had render'd their Stage incapable of representing them.<sup>2</sup>

So it is in vain even to try Beaumont and Fletcher; and Shakespeare is palatable only in poetic selections, chosen on the basis of one of Gildon's reiterated principles of dramatic criticism:

I translated many of his *Topicks* into their Language, which pleas'd them infinitely; but I told him [Hermogenes] that this Poet was entirely ignorant of the Rules of the Drama, and therefore that all his Plays were but so many Pieces of History, which by consequence could have no *Moral*, and were of little Use or Importance.<sup>3</sup>

As for comedies, the New Athenians have no use for them, and a translation of the *Alchemist* proves wasted effort.

First, [pronounces Hermogenes] because the *Ridicule*, which is essential to this Poem, is what we have the utmost Aversion to, since it is the Nature of that to divert us from thinking seriously of Things; and is, by consequence, a great Enemy to Reason and just Thinking. In the next Place, I thank Heaven we have none of those Vices and Follies among us, which require this sort of Remedy.<sup>4</sup>

Mild satire creeps into Morris's experiences when he learns about players and playwrights in the new country. Their actors are 'not a Company of Ragamuffins, Old, Young, Tall and Short, Awkward and Clumsey, and Ill-drest' because

There is none admitted to be an Actor or Actress from out of the Dregs of the People, nor who have the least Stain upon their Reputations; and as they are suppos'd to be born of Parents of Credit, so they must be more than commonly Educated. . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 96-7.

<sup>3</sup> P. 97. Cf. in Gildon's *Complete Art of Poetry* (1718), I [306]-362, 'Shakespeareana: or Select Moral Reflections, Topicks, Similies, and Descriptions from Shakespear', an early example of beauty treatment.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 98-9.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 95-6.

More important is the fact that plays and poems remain anonymous until their fate has been decided. First a playwright submits his fable to the critics and fellow poets; if it is approved, he is allowed to prepare his work for anonymous performance, 'by which means the Thing, and not the Name, prevails in the publick Applause'.<sup>1</sup> So much for poetry and the drama.

Morris visits the colleges and schools, comments upon the municipal laws into which 'all the moral Doctrines of the New Testament are incorporated', and shrewdly summarizes the basis for their religious concord:

no Dispute about Opinions in Faith, which is avoided chiefly by this Maxim; that no Word or Term be admitted that is not expressly found in the Gospel itself: Thus, tho' there are several who believe the Substance and Matter of the Trinity, yet the Word, as being the Invention of Man, is not suffer'd to be made use of, but every Man left to his own Judgment. . . .<sup>2</sup>

For the same reason, Morris reports, they have deacons, elders, and bishops, but no priests, 'as being a Word not justified by Scripture'. The author apparently was better informed about the drama than about scripture. Altogether, New Athens is 'one of the happiest Cities in the World', with no poor; no lawyers, attorneys, pettifoggers, solicitors and bailiffs; no apothecaries, and 'not above a dozen Physicians, who are call'd Ghessers, as knowing very well that the Art of Physick is purely conjectural'.<sup>3</sup>

Thus pass twenty years, according to the title, although the narrative conveys no adequate impression of the passage of so many years. One day barbarians again attack and are chased back into their own country so far that they accept a proposed treaty. Morris and a few others, having out of curiosity climbed to the top of a mountain, descend by a wrong path, one which leads into the camp of the enemy. Instead of being freed because of the pending treaty, Morris is hurried into the interior and there given his freedom on condition that he teach his captors how to make gunpowder. This ironic twist in events is explained by the flower imprinted on his face; the untrustworthy barbarians recognize him as an outsider and conclude that their enemies must have learned about gunpowder from him. But before Morris is forced to preserve his own life by teaching the barbarians an art of which he knows little and so bringing destruction upon his former friends, he escapes to the seashore. There he is seized and carried aboard a small French ship, driven off

<sup>1</sup> P. 100.<sup>2</sup> P. 102.<sup>3</sup> P. 108.

its course, which is subsequently wrecked off the coast of Carolina, whence he returns to England to write his voyages.

I do not with any great confidence present the 'Fortunate Shipwreck' as a certain source for *Gulliver*. Swift, nevertheless, may have seen it. In 1720, just as he was getting ready to develop a narrative plan conceived some years earlier, this work was having its brief day before sinking into oblivion. We know that during the bad weather of the summer of 1722 Swift was reading through an 'abundance of Trash', including 'I know not how many diverting books of history and travels'.<sup>1</sup> These phrases do not bar the 'Fortunate Shipwreck'; a *such as* could have prevented a lot of speculation.

Swift himself would have grunted in dismay at the suggestion that he owed anything to Gildon, of all people. Swift was not a direct imitator in *Gulliver* (except for the instance of using in the second voyage the somewhat technical account of a storm from Sturmy's *Mariner's Magazine*), and Mr. Harold Williams has rightly stressed that the 'conclusion which emerges from a comparison of hypothetical sources . . . is that *Gulliver's Travels* owes little to direct hints'.<sup>2</sup> But *Gulliver*, like many another piece of creative writing, affords numerous examples of the deep unconscious well-of-cerebration process (which has made possible several source studies), and one can, without any strain upon the imagination, easily see how Swift from at least three situations might have knowingly or unknowingly taken a hint, altered it, and improved upon it or subconsciously have accepted the challenge thrown out by a good situation poorly and inadequately developed.

In this connection the most interesting situation in the 'Fortunate Shipwreck' is that of the traveller carrying a knowledge of gunpowder and firearms to a people unable at first to grasp it. How much more effectively the situation is handled when the king of Brobdingnag 'was struck with horror at the description I had given of those terrible engines, and the proposal I had made'.<sup>3</sup> The turn of events

<sup>1</sup> See his letter of 13 July to Vanessa in *Correspondence*, ed. Ball, III, 134, and his letter of 22 July to Ford in *Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1935), p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Dean Swift's Library* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Gulliver's Travels*, Part II, chap. vii. I do not imply that the 'Fortunate Shipwreck' is the only place where Swift might have taken a hint for this or any other situation. If I were setting down likely parallel passages, I should, for example, accord more importance to Tyssot de Patot's *Voyages et Aventures de Jacques Massé* (Bordeaux, 1710), p. 219: 'Les Armes à feu lui étoient aussi tout à fait inconnues, & il les auroit estimées, n'eût été le mauvais usage qu'on en fait. Rien ne le faisoit plus frémir que les Relations que je lui faisois par fois de nos Guerres, & des sanglantes Batailles qu'elles causent'. Swift's possible use of Tyssot de Patot has

wherein Morris's companion assists the New Athenians to destroy almost completely the barbarian fleet and wherein Morris then goes over to his enemies and faces the prospect of joining them against his former hosts may be emphasized in connection with Gulliver's capturing (by insuperable advantages) the fleet of the Blefuscudians, then his befriending and finally visiting them under circumstances that threaten to lead to defensive reprisals against the alarmed Lilliputians.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the motive of self-preservation which prompts the New Athenians to mark a distinguishing flower upon the visitors' faces reminds one of Gulliver's statements in his concluding chapter about acquiring by invasion the strange countries he discovered.<sup>2</sup>

In two such narratives there are, inevitably, other minor similarities, perhaps by themselves entirely accidental, but if the three situations I have already singled out suggest any basis for the assumption that Swift had read the 'Fortunate Shipwreck', then at least two of these more remote similarities may be mentioned. Distinguishing facial marks are not a commonplace of fiction;<sup>3</sup> the identifying flower, though called 'lovely and beautiful', must have been no less sinister both in appearance and implication than the red circular spot on the forehead of a Struldbrug, the essential difference being that the latter was organic and changed with time to green, blue, and black. Second, no supposition about the wise and healthy Houyhnhnms would seem more logical and natural than their employing vehicles only 'when they grow old, upon long journeys, or when they are lamed by any accidents';<sup>4</sup> however, the New Athenians in their wisdom also forewent such luxuries:

there is not in this rich and populous City so much as one Coach; but all, both Male and Female, are oblig'd to walk when they go out, except Women with Child, or such as are sick or lame, or very old, and these are carry'd in a sort of Chair.<sup>5</sup>

The essential ideal of a coachless people is common to both these happy nations, as, indeed, More's Utopians preferred to leave their ox carts behind them when they went a journey.<sup>6</sup>

been recently presented by J. R. Moore, 'A New Source for *Gulliver's Travels*', *Studies in Philology*, XXXVIII (1941), 66-80.

<sup>1</sup> Part I, chaps. v, vii, and viii.

<sup>2</sup> Part IV, chap. xii, paragraphs 6-10.

<sup>3</sup> Excepting punitive mutilation. The identity-mark of folklore and mediæval romance could not be facial because the plot required that it be concealed until the dénouement.

<sup>4</sup> Part IV, chap. ix.

<sup>5</sup> P. 106.

<sup>6</sup> The thrusts in both *Gulliver* and the 'Fortunate Shipwreck' at lawyers and physicians are hardly worth comment, since they are staples of social satire, especially in the eighteenth century.

If the similarities, both near and remote, between these two imaginary voyages fail to support on the basis of internal evidence the hypothesis that Swift had seen the 'Fortunate Shipwreck', nothing important is lost in the comparison, for Gildon's short narrative demands a place as an interesting English predecessor of *Gulliver* and therefore part of the background that should not be ignored.<sup>1</sup>

PHILIP BABCOCK GOVE.

### THOMSON'S *AGAMEMNON* AND *EDWARD AND ELEONORA*—FIRST PRINTINGS

Apparently, the printings that were made of James Thomson's plays *Agamemnon* and *Edward and Eleonora* during the lifetime of their author have not been listed and differentiated. The plays were composed and published in the period of the poet's most active partisanship with the Prince of Wales and the Opposition against Walpole and the King, the opening stages of which are exhibited in the writing, the publication in 1729, and the several other early printings, of Thomson's *Britannia*.<sup>2</sup> In January, 1738, public concern lest the Licensing Act of 1737 directed against Opposition drama become a forerunner of further restrictions on printing, led Andrew Millar, Thomson's publisher, to issue an edition of Milton's *Areopagitica*, of which the 'Preface, by Another Hand' is attributed to Thomson. In the following March, Millar published a translation of another tract by Milton, *A Manifesto of the Lord Protector* 'against the Depredations of the Spaniards . . . first printed in 1655', now re-issued in English in the midst of a new Opposition outburst against the Government's handling of relations with the Spaniards, the butt of *Britannia* nine years earlier. This translation is commonly assigned to Thomson. The title-page of the first edition, and that

<sup>1</sup> A search for possible sources of the 'Fortunate Shipwreck' seems hardly worth while unless one should wish to show, by denying any originality to Gildon, that all of his sources could likewise have been Swift's. Though the narrative does not have great merit, it is neither so bad nor so inconsiderable as to warrant that procedure. Apart from comparison with *Gulliver*, one of the most striking passages in Gildon's work explains the origin of the New Athenians, although the figure of 100,000 migrants, to say nothing of the even larger population of *terra australis incognita*, renders it absurd. Imaginary voyages, when they undertake to explain at all, usually content themselves with some vague reference to an ancient shipwreck, and deliberate migratory escapes from Europe are rare. Cf. my *Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941), p. 158; also p. 234, where the 'Fortunate Shipwreck' is included in the check list.

<sup>2</sup> See my article 'Thomson's *Britannia*—Issues, Ascription, Date, Variants', to appear in *Modern Philology*.



of the second issued in the same year, feature a quotation of six verses from *Britannia*; and they state what is a fact, that to the tract 'is added, Britannia, a Poem; by Mr. Thomson'.

Thomson's tragedy *Agamemnon*, dedicated to the Princess of Wales, was performed on 6 April, 1738, the censors having passed over a number of its passages directed, and sure to be applied, against the Government. Its successor, *Edward and Eleonora*, after being cast and rehearsed for performance, was banned. Nevertheless, replete as it is with obvious thrusts against the King and the Government in office, the play was published in May, 1739, the title-page stating 'As it was to have been Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden,' and quoting from Phædrus a passage of pertinent application. The Dedication to the Princess of Wales announces that 'In the Character of Eleonora I have endeavoured to represent, however faintly, a PRINCESS distinguish'd for all the Virtues that render Greatness amiable. I have aimed, particularly, to do justice to her inviolable Affection and generous Tenderness for a PRINCE, who was the Darling of a great and free People'. Occupying the whole obverse of the leaf next preceding the text of the play is the satiric alluring notice, 'Advertisement. The Representation of this Tragedy, on the Stage, was prohibited in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Nine'—all in large type, and the last six words in larger and heavy Old English. Trade copies with '(Price One Shilling and Six-pence.)' on the title-page, and 'author's' copies on heavier paper without the price-mark, were issued.

Concerning *Agamemnon* and *Edward and Eleonora* the pertinent entries quoted in *Notes and Queries*, No. 292, June 2, 1855, from the ledger of Henry Woodfall, Millar's printer, are as follows:

'April 24, 1738. Printing *Agamemnon*, a Tragedy, 8vo., No. 3000, and 100 fine, 5 shts.'

'April 28, 1738. Second edition, No. 1500, 3 shts./ 2 shts. standing.'

'August 26 [1744]. *Agamemnon* and *Edward and Eleonora*, 8vo., No. 250, 9 shts.'<sup>1</sup>

Of *Agamemnon* I have found printings from three settings of type in Thomson's lifetime. Two of these settings are independently

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the prohibition of stage performance, and an apprehension of prosecution for publication, account for the facts that Woodfall did not print any separate edition of *Edward and Eleonora*, and that the title-page of the first edition and of the imitative later issue state that they are 'Printed for the Author' and sold by Millar—the only instance of a publication of anything by Thomson in his lifetime with such an imprint. Of course, it is possible that the transcriber for *Notes and Queries* overlooked some entries in Woodfall's ledger.

paged; the other is paged consecutively with the preceding items in *Works* Volume II dated 1738 that is mated with *Works* Volume I dated 1744. The three settings agree verbally. So, sales and expectation of good additional sales, account for the two settings after the first.

The title-page of the first setting—which we shall style Setting A—reads:

'Agamemnon. / A / Tragedy. / Acted at the / Theatre-Royal / in / Drury-Lane, / By His Majesty's Servants. / [rule] / By Mr. Thomson. / [rule] / [ornament] / London: / Printed for, and sold by A. Millar, at Bucha- / nan's-Head in the Strand. MDCCXXXVIII. / (Price One Shilling and Six-pence.)'.<sup>1</sup>

This Setting A is evidently the *Agamemnon* of five sheets entered in Henry Woodfall's ledger under the date 24 April, 1738. It consists of four leaves devoted respectively to advertisements of books with obverse blank, Title-page, Dedication, and Prologue and Persons Represented; and Text, Signatures B1-K4, each of four leaves, with Epilogue on the reverse of K4. The total is ten half-sheets or five sheets. This Setting A is to be identified and distinguished from the other settings through its following features: Each type-page 3½ inches in width; page 3 verse 21, *moment* (*m* lower case); page 9, period in running-head; page 17 verse 4, *Cal-* with [*chas*, above; page 18 ¶ 1 end, period after *Clytemnestra*; page 24, the figure 5 at foot; page 25 verse 15, *here, at*; page 27, error of SCENE V for SCENE VI; page 39, no figure 6 at foot; preceding title-leaf, a leaf blank on obverse, advertisements on reverse, but no half-title.

The next setting—which we shall style Setting B—is the 'Second Edition', entered in Woodfall's ledger under the date April 28, 1738, '3 shts. / 2 shts. standing'. Except for the addition of 'The Second Edition' followed by a rule next below the rule under 'Mr. Thomson', and the omission of the price-mark, the title-page reads as does that of Setting A. Setting B consists of four leaves occupied with a half-title, 'Agamemnon. / A / Tragedy. / (Price One Shilling and Six-pence.)' with advertisements of books (same matter and type as in Setting A) on its reverse, Title-page with reverse blank, Prologue and Persons Represented, and Dedication; and Text, Signatures B1-K4, each of four leaves with Epilogue on reverse of K4. This Setting B is to be identified and distinguished from the other settings

<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere in this article, italics and small capitals are not reproduced.

by the facts that the type-pages of its front matter (Signature [A]) and Signatures E-K are  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width, and Signatures B-D are  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width. Collation shows that Signatures G-K, four half-sheets, are the '2 shts. standing' that Woodfall records; the Signatures [A]-F are the reset '3 shts.' of his ledger entry. This Setting B may be distinguished through its following additional features: Half-title with advertisements on reverse; page 3 verse 21, *Moment* (capital *M*); page 9, no period in running-head; page 17 verse 4, *Calchas*, whole word on one line; page 18 ¶ 1 end, comma after *Clytemnestra*; page 24, no figure 5 at foot; page 25 verse 15, *here at*; page 27, SCENE VI correct; page 39, figure 6 at foot.

Evidently, the 3,100 copies of the *Agamemnon* dated by Woodfall 24 April, 1738, sold rapidly; but of the 1,500 copies of the Second Edition entered as of 28 April, 1738, enough remained to supply separately-paged copies of the play for all of the groups of octavo *Works*. Each separately-paged *Agamemnon* that I have seen in Volume II of the *Works* in two volumes dated 1738, or the *Works* with Volume I dated 1744 and Volume II dated 1738, or the *Works* 1744-49 (Volume I, 1744, Volume II, 1738; Volume III, 1749) is made up of sheets of the Second Edition (Setting B).

The third setting—which we shall style Setting C—of *Agamemnon* is the setting with *Edward and Eleonora* recorded by Woodfall under the date 26 August, 1744. It constitutes pages [239]-[316], Signatures R1-X6, of Volume II dated 1738 of the consecutively-paged *Works* whose Volume I is dated 1744. Each of its type-pages is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width.

Of *Edward and Eleonora* I have seen printings from three settings of type in Thomson's lifetime. These we shall style A, B, and C. The *wordings* of these three settings agree throughout, except in the presence or the absence of the price on the title-page.

The readings and arrangement of the title-pages of Settings A and C agree:

'Edward and Eleonora. / A / Tragedy. / As it was to have been Acted at the / Theatre-Royal / in / Covent-Garden. / [rule] / By Mr. Thomson. / [rule] / Suspicionem si quis errabit sua, / Et rapient ad se quod erit commune omnium, / Stulte nudabit Animi Conscientiam. / Phædrus. / [double rule] / London: / Printed for the Author; and sold by A. Millar, / over-against St. Clement's Church in the Strand. / M.DCC.XXXIX. / (Price One Shilling and Sixpence.)'.

Each of these two settings is dated 1739 on its title-page. The first setting, that here styled Setting A, occurs in trade copies with the price on its title-page, and in 'author's' copies without the price. This Setting A may be identified and distinguished through its following features: Signatures [A]-I4, nine sheets in fours; Prologue verses 5-7 from end, with a brace; page 27, Scene II heading, GLOSTER; page 39, numbered 39; page 39, *third Act*; page 52, *Fourth Act*; page 63, numbered 93.

Another setting, here styled Setting B, occupies pages [317]-[384] of the '1738' Volume II of the *Works* mating the 1744 Volume I. It is in sheets of eight leaves each, Signatures Vol. II. X7-Vol. II. Bb8 inclusive, and has a half-title (X7) but no title-leaf.

Another setting—here styled Setting C—is dated 1739 on its title-page. I have found it used to complete Volume II of the three-volume *Works* 1744-49, and have not seen Setting A or Setting B so used. Setting C may be identified and distinguished through its following features: Signatures [A]-I4 in fours, pages [i]-[viii]+[1]-64; Prologue verses 5-7 from end, without a brace; page 27 Scene II heading, GLOSTER.; page 30, SCENE VI. for SCENE IV.; page 39, *Third ACT*; page 52, *Fourth ACT*; page 39, misnumbered 9; page 63, numbered 63. In addition to the differences to be noticed in these features, the A and C settings differ from each other in type (similar, but not alike); practically all the ornaments and ornamental dividers; spacing within lines; uses of - -, - - -, and —; *et al.* Evidently, a copy of the A printing was used as 'copy' for this Setting C, for the page contents and the divisions of verses agree. The date 1739 of Setting A is retained in this Setting C.

Discussion of the printings of *Agamemnon* and *Edward and Eleonora* must consider the constitution of the several combinations of volumes of octavo *Works* of Thomson. The *Works* in octavo occur in three combinations—Volumes I and II both dated 1738; Volume I dated 1744, with Volume II dated 1738; and Volume III dated 1749. All the copies of *Works* Volume II in octavo that I have seen are dated 1738. Up to and including Signature Q8 (page [240]), which is the half-title of *Agamemnon*, they are from the same printing. The front-matter is four leaves—that is, a half-sheet; Signatures B1-Q8 are fifteen sheets. Consequently, this printing to Q8 is the 250 copies that Woodfall entered as follows in his ledger: 'June 6, 1738 . . . . Vol. ii., No. 1500, 15½ shts. / Red title.' Woodfall's ledger lists no later printing of a *Works* Volume II; Volume I

alone is entered as of 7 July, 1744. So, it would appear that between June, 1738, and the four-volume *Works* of 1750 the 1500 copies sufficed to satisfy the demands for a Volume II.

The following features show that when Volume II 1738 was set and printed in 1738 up to and including Signature Q8, the plan was to fill out the volume from remainder sheets of a separately-paged *Agamemnon*.<sup>1</sup> In all copies of *Works* Volume II that I have seen, in whatever matings of volumes, page 238 (Signature Q7) has at its foot the catch-word 'AGAMEMNON', and pages [239]–[240] (Signature Q8) are a half-title for *Agamemnon*. Again, in all copies the reverse of the second leaf of the front matter is occupied by a 'Contents of the Second Volume', with a list of *errata* at its foot. This Contents lists *Agamemnon* for page 239, which is the *Agamemnon* half-title Q8. Six *errata* are listed, each except the last by page and line. The last *erratum* concerns the Epilogue to *Agamemnon* which in all three settings is located at the end of the play; it reads, without page reference: 'Epilogue to *Agamemnon*, l. 4, for *weeps* r. *wipes*.' Moreover, *Agamemnon* in Volume II is regularly sheets (with or without the original half-title and title-page) of the Setting A or the Setting B, both separately-paged; in only a few of the copies of Volume II that are mated with Volume I of 1744 does the consecutively-paged Setting C of the play appear.

Perhaps between 1739 and 1744 some copies of Volume II were issued with separately-paged remainder copies of *Edward and Eleonora* added after *Agamemnon*. By the middle of 1744 at latest this arrangement had been adopted; Volume II 1738 mated with Volume I 1744 regularly has the two plays in such form, so located. Further, Volume I dated 1744 sometimes has at its end a separately-paged *Sophonisba* the reverse of whose last leaf is occupied with a Contents for both Volumes.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the list for Volume II appear 'Agamemnon, a Tragedy' and 'Edward and Eleonora, a Tragedy,' with the spaces for the page-numbers blank.

At about the middle of 1744 it was decided to print a few copies

<sup>1</sup> I own a copy of Volume II 1738 that shows the process in act. This copy has not only the half-title of *Agamemnon* Signature Q8, but also the half-title and the title-page of the Second Edition, 1738 (Setting B). To instruct the binder to cancel the Second Edition half-title and title-page, those two leaves were torn upward from the bottom—a common method of marking leaves to be cancelled. By an oversight the two leaves were left in this copy.

<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, the Contents for the 1744 Volume I at the end of this *Sophonisba* does not list *Sophonisba*. The separately-paged *Sophonisba* at the end of Volume I dated 1738 has the reverse of its last leaf blank, or occupied with advertisements of books.

of the two plays from a re-setting for nine sheets of eight leaves each consecutively paged to follow Volume II Signature Q8. This is the printing recorded by Woodfall for that year: 'August 26. Agamemnon and Edward and Eleonora, 8vo., No. 250, 9 shts.' It is the *Agamemnon* Setting C and the *Edward and Eleonora* Setting B making up a total of nine sheets in eights that are found in some copies of Volume II mated with copies of 1744 Volume I. In these copies of Volume II the Contents and *errata* still read as in the copies of Volume II that contain the plays separately paged—that is, the space for the page-number of each of the plays is left blank.

We have seen that the printing in 1738 of 1,500 copies of Volume II up to and including Q8 (the half-title of *Agamemnon*) sufficed to satisfy demands for Volume II to 1750. This slow sale of Volume II—especially slow as compared with the sales of Volume I containing the *Seasons*—may account for the printing of only 250 copies of the two plays in August, 1744. Further, any re-setting and printing of the two plays at that date would suggest that in August, 1744, the stock of separate copies of the plays was at least gravely depleted.

As is true of the three settings of *Agamemnon*, the texts of the three settings of *Edward and Eleonora* agree. The importance of the repeated printings consists largely in the evidence they afford as to the sales and expected future sales of the plays. Critics differ as to Thomson's receiving from the publication of *Edward and Eleonora* the returns that the play's attacks on the King and the Ministry, and its banning from the stage, would be expected to bring to its author. Morel<sup>1</sup>, G. C. Macaulay<sup>2</sup>, and others have suggested that the sensation caused by the banning—the first under the 1737 Licensing Act—of Henry Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa* and the publication of that play just before *Edward and Eleonora* was prohibited, minimized the public's interest in this second application of the Act. Several have judged questionably that the publication of an edition in Dublin in 1739 is evidence that Thomson's play had a good London sale. Bayne<sup>3</sup>, who could see nothing in the play adequately justifying the censor's action, has remarked that 'such a sensation as might be expected to be aroused . . . was not excited. No greater attention than was common to the bulk of published plays was bestowed upon the supposed disloyal pages of *Edward and Eleonora*.' In DNB

<sup>1</sup> Léon Morel, *James Thomson, Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres*, Paris 1895, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *James Thomson*, English Men of Letters Series, 1908, pp. 49-51.

<sup>3</sup> William Bayne, *James Thomson*, Edinburgh 1898, p. 89.



Seccombe declared that the printed play 'was damned as effectively as if it had been performed'.

Without reporting the source of his information, G. C. Macaulay states that 4,500 copies of the play, 1,000 of them on fine paper, were printed for the 1739 edition (Setting A). The consecutively-paged re-setting of the plays for the printing of 250 copies in August, 1744, would suggest that the stock of separately-paged copies of the plays was running low and could not be depended on to supply copies for the complete Volume II of the *Works* and also to allow adequately for sales as separate items. It seems unlikely that in 1744 the play would be re-set in nine sheets, and only 250 copies struck off, merely to provide for Volume II a uniform page-numbering that was not called for by the Contents tables, that had not been observed previously, that was not observed in the 1744-49 combination of volumes, and that was not observed for Volume I of 1744.

If, as Macaulay states, 4,500 copies of *Edward and Eleonora* were printed for the first issue in 1739, by 1744 the sale of that play separately and in the *Works* Volume II, must have been gratifying. Moreover, to this must be added the Setting C dated 1739. The actual date of this setting is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> I have seen it only in copies of Volume II of the three-volume 1744-49 *Works*. But the compositors were evidently directed to follow closely and imitate a specimen of the 1739 first setting (A), for they produced a complete issue dated 1739 that could be sold separately or in Volume II, and that at first sight might be mistaken for the first printing. The expectation of a but slight demand for the play indicated by the re-setting (B) of it with *Agamemnon* in 1744 for sale only in Volume II, and by the printing of only 250 copies from that setting, would seem to oppose an assumption that Setting C—another issue of the play independently paged, complete and priced for separate sale—would be made in or after 1744. One would probably prefer to assume that the separately-paged Setting C was already made and was running low before the 1744 setting (B) with *Agamemnon* for Volume II.

Whatever is the actual sequence of settings, it is evident that after the exhaustion of the first issue (Setting A) of *Edward and Eleonora* Millar felt that there was sufficient demand to publish a

<sup>1</sup> The date 1739 on the title-page does not show that the printing was made in that year. In 1734 Millar published a *Spring* dated 1731 that simulated an issue really of 1731. See my article 'Thomson's *Spring*—Early Editions True and False,' *The Library*, March, 1942.

complete new edition (Setting C) still dated 1739 simulating the Setting A of 1739, and with no changes of text, for sale separately or at the end of *Works*, Volume II.

JOHN EDWIN WELLS.

### 'TIMOTHY TICKLER'S' IRISH BLOOD

The fictitious Timothy Tickler, who contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* in the 1820's and 1830's and frequently appeared in its 'Noctes Ambrosianæ', was a professional Scotsman. Because he was

For the Church and the bowl  
A determined stickler,

he naturally found favour with Christopher North and his circle. His prototype was undoubtedly Robert Sym, maternal uncle of John Wilson, but it has been generally agreed that Sym had no share in writing Tickler's speeches for the 'Noctes' or the serial 'Letters of Timothy Tickler to Eminent Men of Letters of the Day'. The writer most often credited with Tickler's work is John Gibson Lockhart, who probably originated the series.<sup>1</sup> Miss M. Clive Hildyard has claimed, from her study of Lockhart's correspondence with William Blackwood, that he wrote Letters VIII (August 1823), X (September 1823), XVIII (September 1824), and perhaps XIX (December 1824).<sup>2</sup> But my examination of the letters of William Maginn to the publisher<sup>3</sup> has convinced me that Tim Tickler had a surprising share of Irish Blood. Lockhart, if he was the originator of Tickler, was apparently willing to let another writer borrow him—or even temporarily monopolize him. Like most of the other Blackwoodians he practised literary communism while he preached political conservatism.

The first paper of the series in which Maginn had a share was 'No. VII: on the last Number of the Quarterly Review and the

<sup>1</sup> On 20 January, 1822, Dr. William Maginn wrote to Lockhart: 'I am sorry that you are going to cut writing for periodicals. Your admirable talents &c. (suppose some thing very fine said here). But if you are idle why dont you let Baron Lauerwinkel give his opinions on men and things? or allow Mr. Tickler to resume his Letters to eminent Characters? . . . I know a word from you would weigh much with any of these excellent and celebrated personages. If I do not see their pens at work I shall conclude that you are better employed.' (National Library of Scotland, folio 924, No. 45.) Maginn's own share in the Tickler Letters did not begin until the series was revived in July 1823.

<sup>2</sup> M. Clive Hildyard, *Lockhart's Literary Criticism*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 155, 158-9.

<sup>3</sup> Where no other source is given, all letters cited in this paper are copied from the manuscripts in the offices of William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., in Edinburgh, and reproduced by permission of the owners.

New Cantos of Don Juan' (July 1823). Maginn suggests the extent of his contribution to the first part of the Letter, the critique of the *Quarterly*, in the following passage from a letter to Blackwood: '[I send] also Tim Tickler. Now I have not quite finished it, indeed the best part is to come, so that you shall have to-morrow. Request L[ockhart]. to write a short article on the Poor Laws to be inserted'.<sup>1</sup> Apparently 'L.' provided the article requested, for Tickler's letter, as published, contains a discussion of the Poor Laws. The second part of the letter, a review of Cantos VI, VII, and VIII of *Don Juan*, was also by both Lockhart and Maginn, for Lockhart wrote to Blackwood: 'I have run over the Doctor [*i.e.* Maginn] and added a few pages as you see which I think will make it do very well for a *continuation* of Timothy—not a P.S. I really have not read the poem, but dipping here and there it seems worthy of all that Maginn says'. This time the break between Maginn's part of the review and Lockhart's is easy to locate: Maginn, incensed that Byron should have allowed his new instalment of *Don Juan* to be published by John Hunt, brother of 'King Leigh', slashed at it relentlessly; then Lockhart, writing, as he had admitted, in comparative ignorance of his subject, began cautiously: 'I do not mean to say that there are not some half-dozen or two of stanzas not quite unworthy of the better days of Lord Byron. There are'.<sup>2</sup>

'Tickler No. VIII: on the last Number of the Edinburgh Review, and Things in General' (August 1823), which Miss Hildyard ascribes to Lockhart alone, was actually another example of collaboration. On 7 August, 1823, Maginn wrote to Blackwood: 'As for the Edinburgh I shall decidedly do my best. . . . I shall take in hand Greece, Literary Property, & Napoleon—but above all the Periodicals which I know as well as any man in the Euxine—better than some few. As for the Navigation Laws—I earnestly wish somebody of real information would do an article in right spirit on them—what I mean by right spirit is whatever is anti-Whig. Of the British Museum I know little or nothing—puff Croker if poss.' But Lockhart, who seems to have been still in control of the Tickler Letters, evidently supplied

<sup>1</sup> The letter is undated, but references to other articles in *Blackwood's* for July 1823, prove that it was written shortly before the publication of the issue of that date.

<sup>2</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine*, XIV (1823), 92. In the September issue of the magazine Lockhart tempered Maginn's strictures of Byron even further in his criticism of the next three cantos of *Don Juan*. (See 'Odoherty on Don Juan', *Blackwood's*, XIV, 282–93. Evidence of Lockhart's authorship of this article may be found in Miss Hildyard's *Lockhart's Literary Criticism* [p. 158] and in Mrs. [Mary Wilson] Gordon's '*Christopher North*', a *Memoir of John Wilson* [New York, 1862, p. 265].)

more than the fillers which Maginn requested. He wrote presently to the publisher: 'It will cost you considerable trouble to see that this Tickler of shreds & patches appears properly—I have numbered the pages in red and I marked out w<sup>t</sup> red markers the bits to be taken in from Maginn's MS. I cannot very well judge—but I think the two hands will scarcely be detected'.<sup>1</sup>

The next Tickler, 'No. IX: to Mr. T. Campbell' (September 1823) was Maginn's own; Blackwood attributes it to him in a letter to John Wilson dated 20 September, 1823.<sup>2</sup> In the same letter he ascribes 'Tickler No. X', which also appeared in *Blackwood's* for September 1823, to Lockhart.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Timothy's personality was becoming so obviously split that the editors despaired of blending the two letters into a single unit.

The next three 'Ticklers' were by Maginn alone. 'No. XI: the Gentlemen of the Press' (November 1823), he virtually claims in a letter to Blackwood dated 'October 1823': 'You shall have . . . a Tickler which tickles my fancy, & I hope will have the same effect on yours; it is styled and titled "The Gentlemen of the Press" and is as complimentary and impartial as conceivable.' 'Letter No. XII: on the last Number of the Edinburgh Review' (December 1823) is mentioned in two of Maginn's letters to Blackwood. In the first, dated 27 November, 1823, he wrote: 'You have ere this a letter from me, asking you for the Edg. Rev. I got it yesterday regularly. It is marvellously unattractive. I shall give you my ideas in a day or two in a letter to North. . . .' Then on 8 December he wrote: 'I sent you yesterday the commencement of an article on the Edinburgh, the conclusion of which I shall dispatch today or tomorrow'. 'Tickler No. XIII: Mr. Theodore Hook' (January 1824) is proved to be Maginn's by its inclusion in a list of his 1824 contributions which he set down for Blackwood in a letter dated 25 April, 1825.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Maginn acknowledged it in an earlier letter dated 13 January, 1824: 'Inclosed you have 1. a Tickler for Hook—which you will *much oblige* me by inserting'.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is undated, but references to other articles in *Blackwood's* for August 1823 prove that it was written shortly before the publication of the issue of that date.

<sup>2</sup> See Mrs. Gordon's *Christopher North*, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Hildyard's attribution of the Letter, already cited, is based on other evidence. See *Lockhart's Literary Criticism*, p. 158.)

<sup>4</sup> Maginn wrote the letter to dun the publisher for money due him. In reckoning up the account he listed the page numbers of all his contributions to the magazine during the year 1824. He marked with an asterisk all articles which had been 'more or less interpolated'.

I have found no evidence to account for the authorship of 'Tickler No. XIV' (February 1824); it was almost certainly not Maginn's, however, for he omitted it from the list of his 1824 contributions in the letter already mentioned. But 'No. XV: on the Last Westminster and Quarterly Reviews' (May 1824) was partly his, for he listed it with an asterisk in his letter of 25 April, 1825, and earlier wrote: 'I intend to send you for this No. 1 A letter signed T.T. on the Quarterly & Westminster Reviews'.<sup>1</sup> The identity of the other author of the Letter is suggested by Lockhart's letter to John Wilson dated 'May 1824', which contains the remark: 'At any rate [Blackwood] shall have a letter to C[hristopher]. N[orth]. speedily, from Timothy, on the Quarterly or [?] Westminster Reviews'.<sup>2</sup>

Probably because of an oversight there were two 'Ticklers No. XVI'. The first, a prose critique of the *Edinburgh Review*, appeared in the issue of *Blackwood's* for June 1824. It was certainly Maginn's, for he listed it in his letter of 25 April, 1825, and earlier, on 14 June, 1824, wrote to Blackwood: 'I got the Edg. Rev. today—I am afraid I am too late. However if poss. keep the Mag. one day back & I shall send you three or four pages anent it'. The second, a verse critique of the *John Bull Magazine* in the July issue of *Blackwood's*, was almost certainly not Maginn's. In the first place he did not list it in his 25 April letter; in the second he would hardly have had a share in so sharp a criticism of the *John Bull Magazine*, for he was undoubtedly editor of that disreputable publication.<sup>3</sup>

'Tickler No. XVII: on the last Westminster Review' (August 1824) is included in Maginn's list of his 1824 contributions, and is therefore undoubtedly by him alone; No. XVIII (September, 1824) is, as Miss Hildyard has proved, Lockhart's work. No. XIX (December 1824) is not, however, as she assumes with reservations, to be credited to Lockhart; it too is listed in Maginn's letter of 25 April, 1825.

None of the four additional 'Ticklers' which appeared in 1825 can be proved to be Maginn's; they seem to have been by another and less vehement writer. Yet, surprisingly enough, Maginn was probably responsible for discontinuing the slashing 'Ticklers' and for modifying the tone of the last few. Always eager to gratify public taste, he

<sup>1</sup> The letter is undated, but references to other articles in *Blackwood's* for May 1824, prove that it was written shortly before the publication of the issue of that date.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Gordon, *Christopher North*, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> See Kenneth Forward's '“Libellous Attack” on De Quincey', *P.M.L.A.* LII (1937), 244–60. The monthly *John Bull Magazine*, which expired at the end of six months of existence, was entirely separate from the weekly *John Bull* edited by Theodore Hook.

reported to Blackwood on 18 October, 1824, that he had had 'a long and most dolorous conversation with Cadell' (Blackwood's London agent), who complained that the magazine was 'going back in several quarters on account of its grossness'. 'I am inclined to think him right in his recommendation', Maginn added, 'and therefore propose that our standing articles on the Edinburgh, Quarterly, & Westminster Reviews be stopped'. In 'Noctes Ambrosianæ No. XVII' (November 1824) there is another hint of subscribers' distaste for Tickler's Letters: Dr. Malachi Mullion reads a letter signed 'A.B.' which complains of Tim's abuse of the periodicals and alleges that *Blackwood's* has 'been ejected from at least three of by far the most decent libraries hereabouts'. But it was not Tim's nature to retire with an apology; indeed Maginn, in the December 'Tickler', protested that the Letters had utterly demolished the rival magazines, had thereby outlived their usefulness, and would consequently be discontinued.

None the less Maginn had a soft spot in his heart for Timothy and seems to have missed the Letters. On 31 March, 1825, he wrote to Blackwood: 'Are we to drop old Tickler's name? I think not: it gives a sort of individuality which is of some use'. And as late as 1834, shortly after William Blackwood's death, Maginn wrote to Alexander Blackwood, son and successor of the publisher: 'Keep if you can 6 or 8 pages for me to review Brougham in the Edin. Review. I'll write a Tickler letter in the old vein, if I can, which may run that length'.

But to return to Timothy's Irish blood. Its importance can best be estimated by summarizing the conclusions already reached. Of the fourteen Letters appearing in the eighteen months between July 1823, and December 1824—the period of Tickler's steadiest contribution—Maginn wrote seven of the letters alone and collaborated with another writer in three more. Obviously, although Lockhart may have created Timothy and launched him on his career of 'dissection' of the rival magazines, Maginn was equally influential in shaping that career, and, ultimately, in bringing it to a close.<sup>1</sup>

RALPH M. WARDLE.

<sup>1</sup> The Blackwood correspondence proves that Maginn wrote three additional articles signed with Tickler's name but not included in the regular series of Letters: 'Fables for the Holy Alliance' (May 1823), 'The Glasgow Dinner' (October 1823), and 'Pike Prose and Poetry' (May 1824). He also wrote 'Letter from "A Gentleman of the Press"' (July 1822), which was presented as Tickler's but shortly repudiated in a note from Christopher North appended to Timothy's letter, 'The Quarterly Review,' in the same issue.



## REVIEWS

**The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Dramatic Companies and Players.** By GERALD EADES BENTLEY. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1941. Vol. I, pp. xx+342; vol. II, pp. vi+343-748. £2 2s. net.

On the wrapper the publisher expresses the hope that Mr. Bentley's detailed history of the seventeenth-century stage will be found 'a worthy successor' to the standard works of reference by Sir Edmund Chambers. Surely it will be. Need more be said? In general commendation probably not, but it is common knowledge that the scholarly as well as the physical appetite is increased by what it is fed on, and Jaques's cry, 'More, more, I prithe, more', keeps coming into the mind with a manifold application. The term set for *The Elizabethan Stage* was 1616, but (save the mark) it was only Shakespeare whom the stage lost in that year; there was still life stirring in English drama and naturally we ask the historians to go on. 'More' then is the word which carries over from Chambers to Bentley and which still echoes at the end of this pair of volumes, for they are only the first of a new series. The sub-title, *Dramatic Companies and Players*, is important and should quiet several queries and requests—as for instance for an account and chart of the tenancy of the playhouses upon which many arguments depend—which will no doubt be met by what is yet to come on 'plays and playwrights and on the theatres and conditions of play production'. It is encouraging to meet a reference to 1938/9 as a year of uninterrupted work on a third volume.

Mr. Bentley is a comprehensive critic of the second generation and deals with the second period of the Renaissance stage. This is the period of Webster, Massinger, Ford and Thomas Heywood, of Brome contracting to supply Salisbury Court with three plays a year and Shirley providing for the Cockpit Company. It is the period of the First Folio, and one sentence indicates a significance which is still to be fully illustrated: 'No document in the history of the King's Company is so integral a part of, and so illuminating for, the company of the Blackfriars and the Globe as the First Folio, and that entirely apart from the greatness of the plays themselves.'

In 1613 the Globe burned and in 1621 the Fortune, both were rebuilt; old houses such as the Hope and the Swan gave place to the new Phoenix theatre in the Cockpit, Drury Lane, and to Salisbury Court. Heminges and Alleyn no longer acted but were still concerned with theatrical affairs; the Beestons showed their talents as managers and guile in keeping the Master of the Revels in humour. In 1619 Burbage shared with the late Queen the national mourning: he was succeeded by Taylor; and Pollard, Lowen, and Connell made their names. If these names do not stir us now it is our loss, and it might be worth while to quote from Wright's dialogue of *Historia Histrionica* (1699) usefully reprinted in an Appendix. Lovewit asks Truman: 'But pray Sir, what Master Parts can you remember the Old Black-friers Men to Act, in *Johnson*, *Shakespeare*, and *Fletcher's* Plays'. And Truman takes his chance:

What I can at present recollect I'll tell you; *Shakespeare* (who as I have heard, was a much better Poet, than Player), *Burbadge*, *Hemmings*, and others of the Older sort, were Dead before I knew the Town; but in my time, before the Wars, *Lowin* used to Act, with mighty applause, *Falstaffe*, *Morose*, *Vulpone*, and *Mammon* in the *Alchymist*; *Melancius* in the *Maid's* Tragedy, and at the same time *Amyntor* was Play'd by *Stephen Hammerton* (who was at first a most noted and beautiful woman Actor, but afterwards he acted with equal Grace and Applause, a Young Lover's Part), *Taylor* acted *Hamlet* incomparably well, *Jago*, *Truewit* in the *Silent Woman*, and *Face* in the *Alchymist*; *Swanston* used to Play *Othello*: *Pollard* and *Robinson* were Comedians, so was *Shank* who used to Act Sir Roger, in the *Scornful Lady*. These were of the *Blackfriars*. Those of principal Note at the *Cockpit*, were, *Perkins*, *Michael Bowyer*, *Sumner*, *William Allen*, and *Bird*, eminent Actors (sic) and *Robins* a Comedian. Of the other Companies I took little notice.

Wright's tribute is needed to correct our prejudice. He worked from memories of fine performances; we work chiefly from records of things going wrong, quarrels, petitions, complaints, offences, payments *not* to play: we are biassed in favour of the dramas composed in the earlier period and forget that Stuart companies had Shakespeare old as well as Shirley new.

Mr. Bentley remarks that more than half of the plays 'presented at Court in 1638 were over five years old, and about one-third of the twenty-four performances were productions of plays which we still think of as Elizabethan classics'.

But when all allowances are made there is no doubt that Sir Edmund Chambers's lot was cast in a fairer ground. Caroline drama gravitates towards the last sentence in Sir Henry Herbert's office-

book, 'Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642,' matched by the chance entries quoted from Sir Humphrey Mildmay's Diaries: '1643, Nov. 16. To a Playe of Warre . . . then 10<sup>th</sup>: Company to a Playe where was a Disaster home to Sup' (p. 680). It is not the author who complains of this decline; he drives steadily on, absorbed in finding out and stating clearly the truth of things, and soon the reader catches his interest which diverts melancholy reflection. Plays of historic importance have to take the place of dramas of first-rate quality, and admirable use is made by Mr. Bentley of the special editions of *Believe As You List*, *A Game at Chess*, *The Soddered Citizen*, and *Keep the Widow Waking*.

No one who has wrestled with the documentation of theatrical affairs could miss the force of an occasional reference to Mr. Bentley's 'tribulations', but no one could fail to realize the satisfaction of bringing off a feat of co-ordination on this scale or grudge the indulgence admitted on p. 674 when the temptation to quote from Mildmay's records of activities other than theatre-going 'has proved too much for' him.

The task was not so much to explore as to consolidate. Before 1941 a scholar seeking general information or the solution of a specific problem concerned with the Jacobean and Caroline stage would need to assemble the works of Langbaine, Downes, Davies, Collier, Cunningham, Halliwell-Phillipps, W. C. Hazlitt, Fleay, Murray, Baldwin, Hotson, Nungezer, and Harbage—to cite only a few—to have access to the transcripts and compilations of Arber, Greg, Quincy Adams, and the Malone Society, and to acquaint himself with monographs on outstanding playwrights and actors and small articles upon special problems. The embarrassment is obvious: there is plenty of material but it is often controversially cast and varies widely in resources and standards of scholarship.

All this material has been remastered; many details have been adjusted, documents redated, conclusions tested. Much has been added from the combing of more legal, parochial, and private papers, and above all the evidence has been correlated by a critic who has concerned himself for years with this subject and this period as a whole. In future whoever owns or works with the earlier authorities must correct them by reference to the following pages. The annotation for Baldwin's *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* would be to pp. 446, 499, 599, 601, 605, for the rôles of the Goughs, G. Lowen, John Thompson, Nicholas Tooley, and

William Trigg. Murray's study of *English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642* must be augmented and amended from pages 22, 152, 179, 181, 201, and 206. W. J. Lawrence's conjectures are challenged on pp. 201 and 477. Mrs. Stopes's misreading of names has caused much extra cross-referencing in the lists of actors. Professor Dover Wilson's more exciting theory as to the political significance of *A Game at Chesse* is let blood on p. 11. A revision of Dr. Greg's dating of a document in the *Henslowe Papers* is suggested on p. 203. Gleanings are added to the *Malone Society Collections* on pp. 22, 27, 190, and 260. Even such editors as Bald, Clark, Greg, and Pafford receive corrective touches on pages 13, 41, and 71 respectively.

Any reconstruction which records enable us to make of the past bears about the same relation to the actuality of events as a piece of wire-netting to a solid pavement. Ordinary readers cross the void where the wires hold, critical spiders go a little further on their own filaments. It needs a steady head, both to admit ignorance and to find a way through detail. No one could follow Mr. Bentley without realizing the liveliness of his imagination as he handles statistics and the sobriety of his judgment as he deals with assumptions. While he is abstemious in 'the pleasant exercise of guessing', he has still the nerve to challenge the accuracy of an original document (p. 148). His study is sparing of conjecture but full of corrective touches. His largest venture is the case made for the brief but individual existence of the King and Queen of Bohemia's Company. In spite of several standing problems, such as the difficulty of determining what proportion of change in membership constitutes a new company, and what is the relation, if any, between London and Provincial troupes which seem to act under the same patronage, a source of confusion of which we are often warned (pp. 146, 158, 168), Mr. Bentley has managed to make out intelligible accounts of eleven London Companies. Only the King's holds its own throughout the 26 years, and here the material is abundant and already well worked. The rest may be roughly grouped into two generations, those before and those after the plague in 1625, the year of Charles's accession. These groups may be subdivided into those which have in their composition enough actors who have appeared in the preceding period to characterize them as carry-over companies illustrating the principle of continuity, and those which seem to depend upon giving new men their chance. This classification would probably be too crude for Mr. Bentley, but it is apparent on stepping back from the intricacies of the text.

The account of each company is presented as far as possible in two forms, prose and tabulation. The practice of following up each chapter by lists of Actors, Provincial Notices, Plays at Court, and Repertories only lapses when material is so scanty or uncertain that to reproduce it in this form would, as Mr. Bentley submits, be mere pedantry.

In the second volume this material is re-worked into a biographical list of players or, more properly, a theatrical Who's Who, for many find places who were never players: no one will regret the inclusion of Sir Henry Herbert, the Earl of Dorset, Crane the scrivener, Stagekeepers, and Widow Wheaton.

The preface remarks a departure from the method of other biographers of Elizabethan actors; instead of summaries Mr. Bentley has set himself to quote 'every scrap of biographical evidence . . . in chronological order'. This is for the sake of future scholars, and the ordinary reader stands down. This passage shows most clearly one of the chief merits of the work, its excellent method; this is apparent throughout in the explanation of charts and lists and in scores of unobtrusive devices for our convenience. The scrupulous accuracy and comprehensiveness of this study are matched by its practical orderliness. Here 'every thing does answer use'.

A reviewer's criticisms of a work of this size and exactitude are not unlike the remarks made on looking over the shoulder of a Patience-player. It is only with such a comparison in mind that the following suggestions and corrections are offered.

By an alphabetical accident in the Repertory for the Palsgrave's Company Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* stands next to the entry for the plays of Samuel Rowley. There is a real significance in this proximity in the light of a theory of Dugdale Sykes as to 'The authorship of *The Taming of A Shrew*, *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, and the Additions to Marlowe's *Faustus*' (1920). This paper was favourably remarked by Sir Edmund Chambers, and although it is strictly out of bounds for Mr. Bentley in view of its relevance for Shakespearian scholarship it would not be amiss to draw attention to the corroborative evidence which the lists for the later Palsgrave's Company present. It seems unlikely, given the nature of Beaumont and Fletcher's Cleopatra play, that its title *The False One* should justify identification with *The False Friend* (p. 111). The extension of the term 'Elizabethan' up to the Civil War is hardly permissible (p. 673).

Perhaps a more economical use of symbols might have been made in presenting the Actor lists for the King's Company. The double dots used to keep the line until certain evidence of a name in a licence or cast occurs are apt to dazzle, it is wasteful, for instance, to use them for Taylor before 1619 when we know he was not a King's man, for Burbage after his death in that year, and intermediately for others when they may well have belonged to the company but have received no individual mention. It would have been worth considering the use of a single folding chart in spite of its fragility for these extensive lists.

Misprints are very rare, but for 'Allerdyce' on p. vi, read 'Allardyce'; for 'Birch' (p. 11) read 'Birch'; for 'Stutville' (p. 129), 'Stuteville'; for 'Nigle', p. 228, 'Ningle'. The correction of palpable typographical slips in Rymer's 'Foedera' quoted on pp. 17-18, and Brome's 'Five New Playes' (p. 59) is probably intentional: on the other hand the reproduction of the discrepant spellings 'Langport' and 'Lamport' on p. 129 from the two authorities referred to introduces an unnecessary confusion since it is the Northamptonshire 'Lamport' and not the Somersetshire 'Langport' which is in question.

K. M. LEA.

**Shakespeare's Audience.** By ALFRED HARBAGE. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. x+201. \$2.25.

Professor Harbage has written a most interesting book on a topic of great importance which has been comparatively neglected, and we are the more indebted to him because he has written it in so modest and urbane a fashion. He has set out to investigate a number of problems relating to Shakespeare's audience, fully realizing that he may be unable to answer them, even to his own satisfaction. Thus he asks, 'How many people and of what kind went to the theatre? What was their behaviour and what the intellectual and æsthetic capacity?' Before attempting any answers to questions such as these, we must, as he says 'take a long draft of the purgative of doubt, especially concerning opinion. Nothing profitable can now be said of Shakespeare's audience unless we clear our minds of preconceptions'.

His first chapter, therefore, is devoted to a survey of the testimony concerning playgoers of Shakespeare's day, both by contemporary and modern writers. A series of extracts from the City records of the late sixteenth century shows how considerable a part of the charges brought against the players was 'common form', and that 'most of



the testimony expresses a social attitude or comes from disappointed preachers, wary politicians, or spokesmen for threatened commercial interests'. The need for great caution in accepting such evidence has not been clearly observed, even by our most authoritative modern historians of the stage, and Professor Harbage does well to force us to re-survey this and other contemporary evidence.

Having thus cleared the ground, an instructive chapter follows on the number of people the theatres could hold. Much here is admittedly guess-work, but even so is 'the most thoughtful guess thus far made'. I find myself a willing subscriber to this statement, because his figure is very near one at which I arrived independently as a result of a conversation with Professor Dover Wilson last summer. It was so at variance with that given by the usual authorities that I suspected some error in my method, but now Professor Harbage strengthens my guess by estimating that the capacity of the Fortune was 2,344 persons, of whom 1,526 were accommodated in the galleries and 818 in the yard. From this he makes a further series of calculations as to the capacity of the Rose, and then, by a clever use of Henslowe's accounts, comes to the conclusion that the average attendance at the Rose in 1595 was 1,250 persons, that is, a little over half capacity. A close examination of such contemporary 'vital' statistics as are available leads him to the conclusion that only two in every fifteen of those dwelling within what he defines as the 'metropolitan area' went to the theatre. This clearly is a most important factor to be remembered, and may well be compared with the modern habit of weekly cinema going, which in the United States is now said to be ten out of every fifteen members of the population.

Perhaps the most important chapter is that in which Professor Harbage faces the question of what kind of people went to the theatre. He shows clearly that there is no sufficient evidence to uphold the belief that women did not go freely, or that religious scruples kept any considerable number of people away. Many could not attend because the plays were commonly performed in the afternoon, or because it was an arduous business to get to the theatre, bustle for a place and get home again. He sums up: 'All that we can say of the composition of Shakespeare's audience, other than that it was a cross-section of the London population of his day, is that youth may have predominated somewhat over age, male over female, the worldly over the pious, and the receptive over the unreceptive'.

As to their powers of receiving—their 'understanding' as it was

called—emphasis is laid on the difficulty of interpreting the evidence. Contemporary and modern views are quoted and discussed, and finally Professor Harbage, in a characteristically moderate fashion, puts on record his own view of the audience, and emphasizes that 'the reception of the play is a work of collaboration. Shakespeare's meanings are caught in the mesh of a thousand minds'. With much that the writer has to say here, I find myself in full agreement, but does he not over-estimate the degree of education of the rank and file when he approvingly quotes the opinion of L. C. Knights to the effect that 'the majority were likely to have received an education of the Grammar School type'? By 'an education of the Grammar School type' the writer means presumably an education in Latin and rhetoric, but few of the groundlings and only a part—say half—of the rest of the audience would have stayed at the Grammar School long enough to have got beyond the grounding in Latin which was a preliminary to a study of rhetoric. If the majority had any such education as is suggested it must have come from outside the grammar-school, and its nature and extent must be much less certain than is implied by the above statement.

Matters like this, however, really await further investigation, and in the meantime Professor Harbage has put us in possession of a work of reference which quotes and discusses much more evidence than has ever before been assembled. His volume is likely to become a valuable handbook for all interested in the Shakespearean audience and in Shakespeare's response to so diverse and misunderstood a body of men and women.

H. S. BENNETT.

**The Correspondence of Richard Steele.** Edited by RAE BLANCHARD. London: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xxviii + 562. 35s. net.

It is remarkable that in these days, and in one year, we should have seen the publication of the letters of Addison and of Steele in more complete form than has hitherto been attempted. There are marked differences in editorial method between Professor Walter Graham's *Letters of Joseph Addison* and Miss Rae Blanchard's volume; and, further, whereas the former is arranged as a sequence of letters written by Addison to which there are no replies, the latter is designedly, as far as may be, a correspondence. It will be noted that

the two editors choose differing forms of title. Against 702 letters, or abstracts of letters, written by Addison Professor Graham groups separately in an appendix forty letters written to him. Miss Blanchard has succeeded in collecting no more than sixty-two letters addressed to Steele against a total of nearly six hundred written by him, but these are included in their chronological setting in the body of the work.

Both these volumes have something to add, if not significantly, to our knowledge of events in the lives of Addison and Steele. They serve also to revise, or confirm, our estimates of the characters of two friends, who, if estranged towards the end, were for long united in understanding and literary partnership. Steele emerges happily from the test. His failings were on virtue's side. He was inconsistent, impractical, improvident, devoid of money sense, a reckless borrower, snatching at fortune by visionary schemes, and, despite good resolves, easily overtaken by convivial excess, but he was a devoted husband, a good father, a firm friend, patient under provocation, generous in instinct, and almost foolhardy in accepting risks for the sake of political conviction. Although it is some time since Addison's admirers have sought to 'exalt their hero by debasing his greatest friend', to use Aitken's words, Macaulay's 'Poor Dick', who was 'much of the rake and a little of the swindler', has enjoyed too long a credit. Even Thackeray, who wrote kindly of Steele, could not quite escape that influence—'when stern Duty rapped at the door with his account, Dick was absent and not ready to pay'. But Thackeray made large amends, for it was he who said of Steele, not quite truly, that he was the first of our writers who, addressing himself to women, paid 'a manly homage to their goodness and understanding, as well as to their tenderness and beauty'.

A man may write in one character for his public and quite differently in his private letters; he may write brilliantly as an author and intolerably as a correspondent. Steele wrote as naturally, and in the same character, to his wife, his children, and his friends, as to those who were to know him only in print. In the hurry between idleness, business, new projects, and interviews with probable or unlikely patrons, he found time to scribble off letters containing the same thoughts, sometimes the same words, as those he used when composing papers for the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*.

The immense editorial labours of John Nichols fill lesser mortals with despair. An interest in Steele was but a by-way in his multi-

farious activities, but in 1786 he published, in six volumes, a valuable annotated edition of the *Tatler*, in 1788 came *Sir Richard Steele's Epistolary Correspondence*, in 1789 editions of the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, two editions of *The Lover and Reader*, and in the same year a volume of miscellanies. In 1809 the correspondence was republished with additional letters, and this, as Miss Blanchard admits, forms the foundation for her own collection, which is the first effort since the time of Nichols to edit the whole correspondence. But during the 130 years which have passed new letters have come to light, many of which have been used by Steele's biographers, in particular by G. A. Aitken in his large and scholarly *Life of Richard Steele* (1889), and more recently by Mr. Willard Connely in *Sir Richard Steele* (1934). In addition, letters have appeared in several of the volumes published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, or have been traced to further manuscript collections. Miss Blanchard herself has succeeded in adding twenty new letters written by Steele and seven addressed to him. To say no more is to give an inadequate conception of all that she has done, not only in the sifting, arrangement, and presentation of her material, but in the industry, acumen, and scholarship she has brought to her labours. Her thoroughness, painstaking devotion, and accuracy deserve unstinted praise.

Of interest among the new letters is one addressed to Ambrose Philips, 29 April, 1713, which makes it probable that 46, 47, and 48 of the *Guardian* were from his hand. This attribution is new. Miss Blanchard notes, further, that Pope's famous *Guardian*, No. 40, which contained ironical praise of Philips as a pastoral poet, appeared only two days before the date of the letter just mentioned. She suggests that, had Steele realised the full implication of Pope's paper he would not have published it at a time when he was accepting helpful contributions from Philips. He probably failed to read it with sufficient attention before sending it off to the printer.

Among the new letters addressed to Steele is one from Addison, 4 March, 1709/10. This is not printed by Professor Graham in his edition of Addison's letters; and Miss Blanchard does not include a letter from Addison, 19 April, 1710, which appears in Professor Graham's volume, reproduced in facsimile from the autograph in his possession, and there described as the 'only known letter from Addison to Steele'. The letter printed by Bohn in his edition of Addison's *Works* (v. 373), as if from Addison to Steele, is unaddressed, and was almost certainly written to some other corre-

spondent. It is remarkable that so little remains of any written correspondence between these two friends. There is also, among new letters, a summary (trace of the autograph has been lost) of a letter from Pope to Steele, 6 December, 1712, which appears to refer to *The Temple of Fame*.

Miss Blanchard has divided her material, which is something more than a gathering of Steele's correspondence, into three parts. The first, his general correspondence, takes less space than the family letters, which are, in the main, addressed to Steele's second wife, his 'Dear Prue'. If this segregation serves to bring together, as in a single picture, Steele's relationship with his wife, her family, and his children, it has, on the other hand, disadvantages, for these letters have, in addition, something to tell us of his literary occupations, his financial worries, his schemes for getting rich quickly, and his political adventures, details which are thus separated from their natural sequence in the general correspondence where these concerns of his life are more fully reflected. Part III contains a reprint, admirably annotated, of the published letters (1707) addressed to Mrs. Manley. These appear to be genuine, though doubt may be entertained. In the same section are included formal dedications, petitions, and memorials.

At the head of each letter appear whatever information is known of the original manuscript, the place and date of first publication, and, if demanded, further bibliographical data. The largest single group of Steele's autograph letters, presented by John Nichols, is in the British Museum. Others are widely scattered in libraries or private collections in the British Isles and the United States. A small addition to the information given by Miss Blanchard may, for what it is worth, here be noted. The first printing of the important letter, No. 80, written by Steele to Lord Oxford, tendering his resignation of the office of Commissioner of the Stamp-Revenue, is assigned to the *Biographia Britannica* (1763). It appeared over twenty years earlier in *Common Sense* for Saturday, 14 June, 1740.

Miss Blanchard has evaded no difficulties and spared no labour to make her notes as complete and informative as possible. They are written 'for the student concerned with literary history and biography', and to place Steele against a background illustrating his relations with his contemporaries. The notes, instead of being ranged at the foot of the page follow each letter, and cross-references are given by letter numbers. Minor repetitions of information have

been introduced to save the reader trouble in turning back to earlier letters or consulting the index. If used judiciously this is a practice to be commended.

Among matters upon which Miss Blanchard is able to throw new light, or to illustrate events in Steele's life in new perspective, are his military career, his early friendship with Mrs. Manley, his marriage, his visits to Wales, his financial entanglements, and the business of the Drury Lane Theatre. She corrects the date, 1703-1705, accepted by Aitken and Connely for Steele's alchemical project, showing good reason for placing these experiments between 1697 and 1701-1702. In a number of instances she suggests more probable dates for undated letters than those assigned by Nichols and others. To his unbounded admiration for Marlborough she attributes, in well-considered notes, the true reason for Steele's split with Swift and the deep resentment he afterwards entertained for him. It was this, Miss Blanchard thinks, which over-weighed all other differences. There are some valuable notes on Steele's relations with Dennis.

Miss Blanchard has every reason, after the years of devoted interest she has given to the study of Steele and her continued search for manuscript and printed information about him, to find satisfaction in her completed labours. Here is a valuable addition to the reference bookshelf and an admirable example of scholarly editing.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

#### SHORT NOTICE

**English Institute Annual, 1940.** Edited by RUDOLF KIRK. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1941. Pp. xiv+228. \$2.00; 13s. 6d. net.

The second issue of the *English Institute Annual* is dedicated to Carleton Brown, the founder of the Institute and editor of its first volume. The 1940 Conference lasted only one week instead of two, but judged by this publication, its range and quality showed no falling-off. Seven of the papers here included were delivered before conference groups. To that on Literary Criticism were read *Mimesis and Allegory* by W. H. Auden, *The Poem as Organism: Modern Critical Procedure* by Cleanth Brooks, and *Scholarship and Contemporary Literature* by W. York Tindall. The group on Literary History first heard the essays on *Literary Forms and Types or a Defence of Polonius*, by N. H. Pearson, *Periods and Movements in Literary History* by René Wellek, *The Problem of Greatness in Writing Literary History* by W. Thorp, and *Intellectual History and its Relation to a Balanced Study of American Literature* by Harry H. Clark. The three remaining papers were read as evening lectures, viz. *The Popular Review and the Scholarly Book* by Ralph Thompson; *Who Uses a Library of Rare Books?* by Randolph G. Adams, and *Copyright and Scholarship* by Walter L. Pforzheimer. The remaining conference groups on *Folk Speech and Folk Culture* and on *Dating of Books by Bibliographical Evidence* are not represented in the volume before us. But the sanity and wisdom of the published essays lead one to infer that all the discussions were of a high standard and served their purpose of advancing English scholarship.

EDITH J. MORLEY.



## SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY ALICE WALKER

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER, Vol. 26, No. 2,  
May-June 1942—

*Hamlet* (H. B. Charlton), pp. 265-86.

The dawn of the Revival of Learning: II. The discovery of the New  
World (The Editor), pp. 413-30.

ELH, Vol. 9, No. 2, June 1942—

Literary Serendipity (Leslie Hotson), pp. 79-94.

On the Public Record Office.

The date of *Macbeth* (Arthur N. Stunz), pp. 95-105.

Concerning 'The earliest life of Milton' (Edward Smith Parsons),  
pp. 106-115.

A reply to A. R. Benham's article, *ELH*, Vol. 6 (1939), pp. 245-55.

Postscript reply, from A. R. Benham, to the present article, pp. 116-7.

The sources of Charles Gildon's *Complete Art of Poetry* (Francis  
Edwards Litz), pp. 118-35.

'The *Benedicite* Paraphrased by the Rev. Mr. Merrick': a correction  
(Philip R. Wikelund), pp. 136-40.

Objections to R. E. Brittain's attribution of the poem to Smart (*P.M.L.A.*,  
Vol. 56 (1941), pp. 165-74).

Dickens' pattern of weekly serialization (Gerald Giles Grubb), pp. 141-  
56.

JOURNAL OF THE RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1942—

The good die young (Monroe M. Stearns), pp. 71-7.

On the pious lives of children in the early 19th century.

The first century of the New Brunswick stage (Oral Sumner Coad),  
pp. 78-89.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. 57, No. 5, May 1942—

Footnote and a friend of Boswell's: a note on *The Nabob* (W. K. Wimsatt,  
Jr.), pp. 325-35.

Paeonic measures in English verse (Brewster Ghiselin), pp. 336-41.

Matthew Prior's funeral (H. Bunker Wright), pp. 341-5.

The source of Robert Daborne's *The Poor-Mans Comfort* (Wallace A.  
Bacon), pp. 345-8.

Political elements in criticism of Voltaire in England 1732-47 (Roger B. Oake), pp. 348-54.

Barnabe Barnes' use of Geoffrey Fenton's *Historie of Guicciardin* (Jeannette Fellheimer), pp. 358-9.

Gray and Christopher Smart (Roland B. Botting), pp. 360-1.

A new poem by Mrs. Centlivre (Richard C. Boys), pp. 361-2.  
From *Caribbeana*, 6 September 1732.

Carlyle on contemporary style (Joseph Jay Rubin), pp. 362-3.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. 57, No. 6, June 1942—

The formation of Old High German *diorna*, Old Saxon *thiorna*, Gothic *widuwaurna*, and Old English *niwerne* (Fritz Mezger), pp. 432-3.

'Dan Chaucer' (Thomas Pyles), pp. 437-9.

On the misnomer.

The Prioress's gems (James J. Lynch), pp. 440-1.

Their symbolic associations.

John Payne Collier and *The Murder of John Brewen* (Robert Mark Gorrell), pp. 441-4.

Doubts concerning the genuineness of the signatures on which evidence for Kyd's authorship rests.

Unity of time in *Every Man in His Humor* and *Cynthia's Revels* (Martin Kallich), pp. 445-9.

The license for Shakespeare's marriage (James G. McManaway), pp. 450-1.

A further note on Drebber's submarine (Clark Emery), pp. 451-5.

See *M.L.N.*, Vol. 56 (1941), p. 202.

'Muck-rakers' before Bunyan (Robert Adger Law), pp. 455-7.

Outwitting Hazlitt (Ralph M. Wardle), pp. 459-62.

On a hoax of William Maginn's.

'The Eve of St. Agnes' and 'The Legend of Britomartis' (Minnie E. Wells), pp. 463-5.

A correction in Byron scholarship (Harold S. L. Wiener), pp. 465-6.

On a review by Francis Hodgson, attributed to Byron, in the *Monthly Review*.

The authorship of some nineteenth-century plays (Majl Ewing), pp. 466-8.

Identification of plays in Allardyce Nicoll's Hand-list for 1800-1850.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, Vol. 37, No. 3, July 1942—

'Polly' among the pirates (James R. Sutherland), pp. 291-303.

Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and the Waverley Novels (R. K. Gordon), pp. 304-16.

Nicholas Breton and *A Smale handfull of fragrant Flowers* (Jean Robertson), pp. 359-63.

Evidence for Breton's authorship.

The demonic finale of 'ristabel' (Joseph Horrell), pp. 363-4.

## STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, Vol. 39, No. 2, April 1942—

- E.K.'s classical allusions reconsidered (D. T. Starnes), pp. 143-59.  
 Bodin's *Methodus* in England before 1625 (Leonard F. Dean), pp. 160-6.  
 Parallel analyses of the two versions of Sidney's *Arcadia*, including the major variations of the Folio of 1593 (A. G. D. Wiles), pp. 167-206.  
 Marlowe's Art of War (Paul H. Kocher), pp. 207-25.  
 Shakespeare's development as a dramatist in the light of his experience (Hardin Craig), pp. 226-38.  
 The arctic voyages of William Barents in probable relation to certain of Shakespeare's plays (Sarah M. Nutt), pp. 240-64.  
*The Merry Wives* and Two Brethren (Dorothy Hart Bruce), pp. 265-78.  
*Much Ado about Nothing*: a possible source for the Hero-Claudio plot (D. J. Gordon), pp. 279-90.  
 Strata in *The Taming of The Shrew* (Raymond A. Houk), pp. 291-302.  
 Milton and the encyclopedias of science (Kester Svendsen), pp. 303-27.  
 Recent literature of the Renaissance (ed. Hardin Craig), pp. 328-486.

## TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, June 6, 1942—

- The Cleek'um Inn (George Thomson), p. 283.  
 A problem revived. See *T.L.S.*, June 7 and Dec. 13, 1941. Reply from Bruce Dickens, *ibid.*; from J. S. Martin, June 20, p. 307.  
 Nicholas Chaucer (H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence), p. 283.  
 New Galt Letters (W. M. Parker), p. 288.  
 Further information from Henry W. Meikle, July 4, p. 336.

## June 20—

- James Thomson's library (A Correspondent), p. 312.  
 Addenda from E. H. W. Meyerstein, July 4, p. 336; *corrigendum* (concerning Johnson's library) from S. C. Roberts, *ibid.* Reply, July 11, p. 343.

## June 27—

- Keats's 'Isabella' (M. Buxton Forman), p. 319.  
 Two more stanzas (xxix, xxxii) of the draft of Keats's poem formerly in the possession of Joseph Severn.

## July 4—

- Sonnet cxlix (Denys Bray), p. 331.  
 G. W. M. Reynolds (Montague Summers), p. 336.

## July 11—

- Papers of Robert Southey (Margaret R. Toynbee), p. 343.  
 Enquiry about a letter (c. 1815) from Horatio Gates Spafford.  
 The Thomason Tracts (W. J. Hiscock), p. 348.

## July 25—

- A Godwin pamphlet (Francis Norman), p. 367.  
 On *Letters of Verax*, 1815.  
 A new Trollope item (Michael Sadleir), p. 372.  
*Third Report of the Postmaster General*, 1857. Reply from Charles Clay, August 8, p. 396; from Michael Sadleir, August 29, p. 432.

## INDEX

- Actors, a company of Elizabethan, 135-43
- Adams, W. E., editor of *The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 1876, 75-85
- Addison, J., *The Letters of Joseph Addison*, ed. W. Graham, reviewed, 236
- Agamemnon*, by James Thomson, note by John Edwin Wells on the first printings of, 478
- American English, A Dictionary of*, ed. Sir William Craigie and J. R. Hulbert, reviewed, 123
- Arnold, M., *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold*, by C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, reviewed, 245
- Ault, N., article on *New Light on Pope*, 441
- Bateson, F. W., review and notice by, 373, 380
- Batho, Edith C., review and notice by, 359, 380
- Beaumont, Sir J., article by B. H. Newdigate on *Sir John Beaumont's 'The Crowne of Thornes'*, 284
- Bennett, H. S., reviews by, 335, 344
- Bennett, Joan, review by, 229
- Bentley, G. E., his *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Dramatic Companies and Players* reviewed, 491
- Bible, *The Bible in its Ancient and English Version*, ed. H. W. Robinson, noticed, 251; *The King James Version of the English Bible*, by D. Daiches, reviewed, 109
- Bibliography, note by L. Hanson on points in the bibliographies of John Cleveland and Alexander Brome, 321
- Biography, *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England*, by D. A. Stauffer, reviewed, 350
- Blackwood's Magazine*, contributed to by 'Timothy Tickler', 486
- Blanchard, Rae, note on additions to *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, 466; her *Correspondence of Richard Steele* reviewed, 498
- Boas, F. S., review by, 337
- Boswell, J., note by R. W. Chapman on Johnson's letters to him, 323
- British Academy, Proceedings of the, 1939, reviewed, 378
- Brome, A., note by L. Hanson on points in the bibliographies of John Cleveland and Alexander Brome, 321
- Bronson, B. H., see *Comedy*
- Byron, Lord, article on *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron, Dickens*, by E. E. Stoll, 257
- Caldwell, J. R., see *Comedy*
- Cameron, K. W., his *Authorship and Sources of 'Gentleness and Nobility'*, reviewed, 337
- Canterbury Tales, The Text of The*, ed. J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert, reviewed, 93
- Caroline Plays, Place-Realism in a Group of*, article by T. Miles, 428
- Caroline stage, see *Drama*
- Carver, P. L., review by, 360
- Centlivre, Susanna, article by James R. Sutherland on *The Progress of Error: Mrs. Centlivre and the Biographers*, 167
- Chapman, R. W., note on the text of Trollope's *Phineas Redux*, 89; note on Johnson's letters to Boswell, 323
- Chatterton, T., article on *The Case-History of Coleridge's 'Monody on the Death of Chatterton'*, by I. A. Gordon, 49
- Chaucer, G., *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, ed. J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert, reviewed, 93
- Cholmeley, Sir Richard, his company of players, 135-43
- Clark, Eleanor G., her *Raleigh and Marlowe, A Study of Elizabethan Fustian*, reviewed, 342
- Cleveland, J., note by L. Hanson on points in the bibliographies of John Cleveland and Alexander Brome, 321

- Coleridge, Hartley, *New poems by Hartley Coleridge, including a selection from his published poetry*, edited by E. L. Griggs, reviewed, 360
- Coleridge, S. T., article on *The Case-History of Coleridge's 'Monody on the Death of Chatterton'*, by I. A. Gordon, 49
- Collins, J. B., his *Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Mystical Methodology*, reviewed, 340
- Colman, C. G., article on *Christopher George Colman, 'Lunatick'*, by H. P. Vincent, 38
- Comedy, *Masters of Dramatic Comedy and their Social Themes*, by H. Ten Eyck Perry, reviewed, 373; *Studies in the Comic*, by B. H. Bronson, J. R. Caldwell, W. H. Durham, B. H. Lehman, G. McKenzie, and J. F. Ross, noticed, 380
- Concise Cambridge History, The, of English Literature*, by G. Sampson, reviewed, 375
- Cooper, L., his *Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature* reviewed, 248
- Cowen, J., proprietor of *The Newcastle Chronicle, 1858-1900*, 74-5
- Craigie, Sir William, his ed. *A Dictionary of American English* reviewed, 123
- Criticism, *Studies in Early Tudor Criticism Linguistic and Literary*, by Elizabeth J. Sweeting, reviewed, 339
- Crowne of Thornes, The*, see Beaumont
- Daiches, D., his *The King James Version of the English Bible* reviewed, 109
- Daniels, R. B., his *Some Seventeenth-Century Worthies in a Twentieth-Century Mirror* reviewed, 349
- Darwin, B., his introduction to *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* reviewed, 366
- Davenport, A., note on *Interfused Sources in Joseph Hall's Satires*, 208
- Davis, H., his editions of *The Drapier's Letters and other Works, 1724-1725*, and *Gulliver's Travels, 1726*, by J. Swift, reviewed, 354, 356
- Defoe, D., morality in his novels, 261-2
- Dennis, J., *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. E. N. Hooker, reviewed, 115
- De Quincey; A Portrait, by J. C. Metcalf, noticed, 380
- Dickens, C., *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron*, Dickens, article by E. E. Stoll, 257
- Dictionary of American English, A*, (Vols. VII-X), ed. Sir William Craigie and J. R. Hulbert, reviewed, 123
- Dictionary, The Oxford, of Quotations*, with an introduction by B. Darwin, reviewed, 366
- Doctor Faustus*, note by L. Kirschbaum on Mephistophilis and the lost 'Dragon', 312
- Drama, articles: *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron*, Dickens, by E. E. Stoll, 257; *Henry Arthur Jones and the Development of the Modern English Drama*, by Marjorie Northend, 448; *Jonson's Masques—Points of Editorial Principle and Practice*, by W. W. Greg; *Jonson's Masques: A Rejoinder*, by Evelyn Simpson, 291; *Place-Realism in a Group of Caroline Plays*, by T. Miles, 428; *Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies*, by C. J. Sisson, 129; *The Text of the Parnassus Plays*, by J. B. Leishman, 395; *Timon of Athens*, by Una Ellis-Fermor, 270.
- Notes on the text of Jonson's *Masques*, by P. Maas, 464; note on Mephistophilis and the lost 'Dragon' in *Doctor Faustus*, by L. Kirschbaum, 312; note on two passages in *Richard III*, by P. Maas, 315. *Authorship and Sources of 'Gentleness and Nobility'*, by K. W. Cameron, reviewed, 337; *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Dramatic Companies and Players*, by G. E. Bentley, reviewed, 491; *Masters of Dramatic Comedy and their Social Themes*, by H. Ten Eyck Perry, reviewed, 373; *Raleigh and Marlowe, A Study of Elizabethan Fustian*, by Eleanor G. Clark, reviewed, 342; *Shakespeare and other Masters*, by E. E. Stoll, reviewed, 344.
- Drapier's Letters, The, and other*

- Works, 1724-1725*, by J. Swift, ed. H. Davis, reviewed, 354
- Drayton, M., *The Works of Michael Drayton* (Vol. V), ed. J. W. Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson, and B. H. Newdigate, reviewed, 111; *Michael Drayton and his Circle*, by B. H. Newdigate, reviewed, 111
- Dryden, J., note by R. J. Smith on the date of *Mac Flecknoe*, 322
- Durham, W. H., see *Comedy*
- Duthie, G. I., review by, 346
- Edward and Eleonora*, by James Thomson, note by John Edwin Wells on the first printings of, 478
- Eighteenth-century, *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England*, by D. A. Stauffer, reviewed, 350; *The Eighteenth-Century Background*, by B. Willey, reviewed, 118
- Ellis-Fermor, Una, article on *Timon of Athens*, 270; review by, 34
- Elton, O., review by, 111
- Epic Suggestion in the Imagery of the Waverley Novels*, by Christabel F. Fiske, reviewed, 359
- Everett, Dorothy, reviews by, 93, 329
- Exeter Book*, note on Riddle 8 of, by Jean I. Young, 308
- Fielding, H., article by A. R. Humphreys on *Fielding's Irony: Its Methods and Effects*, 183
- Finch, *The Reverend Colonel*, by Elizabeth Nitchie, noticed, 125
- Fiske, Christabel F., her *Epic Suggestion in the Imagery of the Waverley Novels* reviewed, 359
- Flower, R., his edition of *The Parker Chronicle and Laws* reviewed, 329
- '*Gentleness and Nobility*', *Authorship and Sources of*, by K. W. Cameron, reviewed, 337
- Gildon, C., note, by P. B. Gove, on his 'Fortunate Shipwreck' as background for *Gulliver's Travels*, 470
- Gordon, D. J., two Milton notes by, 318
- Gove, P. B., note on Gildon's 'Fortunate Shipwreck' as background for *Gulliver's Travels*, 470
- Gordon, I. A., article on *The Case-History of Coleridge's 'Monody on the Death of Chatterton'*, 49
- Graham, W., his ed. of *The Letters of Joseph Addison* reviewed, 236
- Gray, T., his influence on Coleridge, 51-2, 56-8
- Greg, W. W., article on *Jonson's Masques—Points of Editorial Principle and Practice*, 144
- Griggs, E. L., his edition, *New Poems by Hartley Coleridge*, including a selection from his published poetry reviewed, 360
- Gulliver's Travels*, note by P. B. Gove on Gildon's 'Fortunate Shipwreck' as its background, 470; *Gulliver's Travels, 1726*, ed. H. Davis, with an introduction by H. Williams, reviewed, 356
- Hall, J., note by A. Davenport on *Interfused Sources in Joseph Hall's Satires*, 208
- Hanson, L., note on points in the bibliographies of John Cleveland and Alexander Brome, 321
- Hebel, J. W., his ed. *The Works of Michael Drayton* reviewed, 111
- Harbage, A., his *Shakespeare's Audience* reviewed, 496
- Herford, C. H., his ed. *Ben Jonson*, Vol. VII, reviewed, 144
- Hermes Trismegistus*, see Vaughan
- Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron, Dickens*, article by E. E. Stoll, 257
- Hooker, E. N., his ed. of *The Critical Works of John Dennis* reviewed, 115
- Horrell, J., article on *Milton, Limbo, and Suicide*, 413
- Hulbert, J. R., his ed. *A Dictionary of American English* reviewed, 123
- Humor's Antique Faces*, and Samuel Rowlands, note by Eugene M. Waith, 213
- Humphreys, A. R., article on *Fielding's Irony: Its Methods and Effects*, 183
- Hutchinson, F. E., note on the strange case of *Olor Iscanus*, 320; reviews and notice by, 109, 242, 340 and 251
- Imagery, Epic Suggestion in the Imagery of the Waverley Novels*, by Christabel F. Fiske, reviewed, 359



- Jacobean stage, *see* Drama.
- Johnson, S., *New Essays by Dr. Johnson*, article by E. L. McAdam, Jr., 197; note by R. W. Chapman on Johnson's Letters to Boswell, 323; *The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. D. Nichol Smith and E. L. McAdam, reviewed, 242
- Jonas, Leah, her *The Divine Science. The Aesthetic of some Representative Seventeenth-Century English Poets* reviewed, 229
- Jones, Henry Arthur, and the *Development of the Modern English Drama*, article by Marjorie Northend, 448
- Jonson, B., *Jonson's Masques—Points of Editorial Principle and Practice*, article by W. W. Greg, 144; *Jonson's Masques: A Rejoinder*, 291, article by Evelyn Simpson, 291; notes on the text of Jonson's *Masques*, by P. Maas, 464; *Ben Jonson*, vol. VII, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, reviewed, 144
- 'King Lear', *The Two Techniques in*, article by W. B. C. Watkins, 1
- King, R. W., notice by, 125
- Kirschbaum, L., note on Mephistophilis and the lost 'Dragon', 312
- Lea, Kathleen M., review by, 491
- Lehman, B. H., *see* Comic.
- Leishman, J. B., article on *The Text of the Parnassus Plays*, 395; review by, 366
- Longfellow, H. W., note on composite metaphors in his poetry, by S. Ullmann, 219
- Low, D. M., reviews by, 118, 378
- Lowry, H. F., his *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold* reviewed, 245
- Maas, P., note on two passages in *Richard III*, 315; notes on the text of Jonson's *Masques*, by P. Maas, 464
- McAdam, E. L., Jr., article on *New Essays by Dr. Johnson*, 197; his ed. of *The Poems of Samuel Johnson* reviewed, 242
- Macdonald, Charlotte, review by, 248
- Mac Flecknoe, note on the date of, by R. J. Smith, 322
- Macgregor, D. C., review by, 121
- McKenzie, G., *see* Comedy.
- Manly, J. M., his ed. *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* reviewed, 93
- Marlowe, C., note by L. Kirschbaum on Mephistophilis and the lost 'Dragon', 312; *Ralegh and Marlowe, A Study of Elizabethan Fustian*, by Eleanor G. Clark, reviewed, 342
- Martin, L. C., article on *Henry Vaughan and 'Hermes Trismegistus'*, 301; review by, 349
- Mawer, A., review by, 123
- Metcalf, J. C., his *De Quincey: A Portrait* noticed, 380
- Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature*, arranged by L. Cooper, reviewed, 248
- Middleton, T., article on *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron, Dickens*, by E. E. Stoll, 257
- Miles, T., article on *Place-Realism in a Group of Caroline Plays*, 428
- Milton, J., article by J. Horrell on *Milton, Limbo, and Suicide*, 413; Two Milton notes by D. J. Gordon, 318; *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, by W. R. Parker, reviewed, 232
- Monroe, N. Elizabeth, her *The Novel and Society: A Critical Study of the Modern Novel* noticed, 250
- Morley, Edith J., review by, 375
- Mysticism, Christian in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Mystical Methodology*, by J. B. Collins, reviewed, 340
- Nashe, T., a paraphrase by J. Dover Wilson of V. Osterberg's interpretation of Nashe's 'Kid in *Æsop*', 385
- Neff, E., his *A Revolution in European Poetry* reviewed, 363
- Newdigate, B. H., article on *Sir John Beaumont's 'The Crowne of Thornes'*, 284; his ed. *The Works of Michael Drayton* reviewed, 111; his *Michael Drayton and his Circle* reviewed, 111
- Nitchie, Elizabeth, her *The Reverend Colonel Finch* noticed, 125
- Northend, Marjorie, article on *Henry Jones and the Development of the Modern English Drama*, 448
- Novel, and Society, The: A Critical*

- Study of the Modern Novel*, by N. Elizabeth Monroe, noticed, 250
- '*Olor Iscanus*', *The Strange Case of*, article by H. R. Walley, 27; reply by F. E. Hutchinson, 320
- Orleans, The English Poems of Charles of*, edited by R. Steele, reviewed, 335
- Østerberg, V., paraphrase by J. Dover Wilson of his interpretation of Nashe's 'Kid in Æsop', 385
- Paradise Lost*, see article by J. Horrell on Milton, Limbo, and Suicide, 413
- Parker Chronicle and Laws, The* (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 173), in facsimile, edited R. Flower and H. Smith, reviewed, 329
- Parker, W. R., his *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* reviewed, 232
- Parnassus Plays, The Text of the*, article by J. B. Leishman, 395
- Periodical Literature, Summary of, by Alice Walker, 126, 252, 381, 503
- Perry, H. Ten Eyck, his *Masters of Dramatic Comedy and their Social Themes* reviewed, 373
- Phineas Redux*, by A. Trollope, notes on the text by C. B. Tinker and by R. W. Chapman, 86, 89; letter on Trollope's phrase 'those horrible two farthings', by H. F. Summers, 228
- Poetry, *Sir John Beaumont's 'The Crowne of Thornes'*, article by B. H. Newdigate, 284; note by A. Davenport on Interfused Sources in Joseph Hall's Satires, 208; note by S. Ullmann on composite metaphors in Longfellow's poetry, 219; note by Jean Young on Riddle 8 of the *Exeter Book*, 308; *The Divine Science. The Æsthetic of some Representative Seventeenth-Century English Poets*, by Leah Jonas, reviewed, 229; *The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. D. Nichol Smith and E. L. McAdam, reviewed, 242; *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold*, by C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, reviewed, 245; *A Revolution in European Poetry*, by E. Neff, reviewed, 363
- Pollard, G., article on *Novels in Newspapers: Some Unpublished Letters of Captain Mayne Reid*, 72
- Pope, A., *New Light on Pope*, article by N. Ault, 441
- Powell, T., his connection with 'Olor Iscanus', 31, 33-7
- Prompt-Copies, see Shakespeare
- Quotations, The Oxford Dictionary of*, with an introduction by B. Darwin, reviewed, 366
- Ralegh and Marlowe, A Study of Elizabethan Fustian*, by Eleanor G. Clark, reviewed, 342
- Reid, Captain Mayne, article by G. Pollard on *Novels in Newspapers: Some Unpublished Letters of Captain Mayne Reid*, 72
- Richard III*, note on two passages in, by P. Maas, 315
- Rickert, Edith, her ed. *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* reviewed, 93
- Riddle 8 of the *Exeter Book*, note on, by Jean I. Young, 308
- Robinson, H. W., his ed. *The Bible in its Ancient and English Version* noticed, 251
- Ross, J. F., see *Comedy*.
- Routh, H. V., review by, 363
- Rowlands, S., note by Eugene M. Waith on Samuel Rowlands and *Humor's Antique Faces*, 213
- Sampson, G., his *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* reviewed, 375
- Satire, note by A. Davenport on Interfused Sources in Joseph Hall's Satires, 208
- Scott, Sir W., *Epic Suggestion in the Imagery of the Waverley Novels*, by Christabel F. Fiske, reviewed, 359; *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, 1827-28*, the text revised by J. G. Tait, reviewed, 121
- Seventeenth-century, *The Divine Science. The Æsthetic of some Representative Seventeenth-Century English Poets*, by Leah Jonas, reviewed, 229; *Some Seventeenth-Century Worthies in a Twentieth-Century Mirror*, by R. B. Daniels, reviewed, 349
- Shakespeare, W., *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron*,

- Dickens, article by E. E. Stoll, 257;  
*Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies, with some account of Cholmeley's Players and a new Shakespeare Allusion*, article by C. J. Sisson, 129;  
*Timon of Athens*, article by Una Ellis-Fermor, 270; *The Two Techniques in 'King Lear'*, article by W. B. C. Watkins, 1; paraphrase by J. Dover Wilson of *Studier over Hamlet-Teksterne* (pp. 7-15) by V. Østerberg, 385; note by P. Maas on two passages in *Richard III*, 315; *Shakespeare and Democracy*, by A. Thaler, reviewed, 346; *Shakespeare and other Masters*, by E. E. Stoll, reviewed, 344; *Shakespeare's Audience*, by A. Harbage, reviewed, 496  
 Simpson, Evelyn M., article, *Jonson's Masques: A Rejoinder*, 291; her ed. *Ben Jonson*, vol. VII, reviewed, 144  
 Simpson, P., note on an emendation in the text of Wordsworth, 228; his ed. *Ben Jonson*, vol. VII, reviewed, 144  
 Sisson, C. J., article on *Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies*, 129  
 Smith, D. Nichol, his ed. of *The Poems of Samuel Johnson* reviewed, 242  
 Smith, H., his edition of *The Parker Chronicle and Laws* reviewed, 329  
 Smith, R. J., note on the date of *Mac Flecknoe*, 322  
 Stauffer, D. A., his *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England* reviewed, 350  
 Steele, Richard, note by Rae Blanchard on additions to *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, 466; *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, by Rae Blanchard, reviewed, 498  
 Steele, Robert, his edition *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans* reviewed, 335  
 Stoll, E. E., article on *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron, Dickens*, 257; his *Shakespeare and other Masters* reviewed, 344  
 Summers, H. F., letter on 'those horrible two farthings' (*Phineas Redux*), 228  
 Sutherland, James R., article on *The Progress of Error: Mrs. Centlivre and the Biographers*, 167; reviews by, 115, 350  
 Sweeting, Elizabeth J., her *Studies in Early Tudor Criticism Linguistic and Literary* reviewed, 339  
 Swift, J., note by P. B. Gove on Gildon's 'Fortunate Shipwreck' as background for *Gulliver's Travels*, 470; *The Drapier's Letters and other Works, 1724-1725*, edited H. Davis, reviewed, 354  
 Tait, J. G., his edition of *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, 1827-28*, reviewed, 121  
 Taylor, W. D., review by, 356  
 Thaler, A., his *Shakespeare and Democracy* reviewed, 346  
 Thomson, James, note by John Edwin Wells on Thomson's *Agamemnon and Edward and Eleonora*—First Printings, 478  
 'Tickler, T.', note on his Irish blood, by R. M. Wardle, 486  
 Tillotson, G., reviews by, 245, 339  
 Tillotson, Kathleen, her ed. *The Works of Michael Drayton* reviewed, 111  
*Timon of Athens*, article by Una Ellis-Fermor, 270  
 Tinker, C. B., note on the text of *Phineas Redux*, 86; his *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold* reviewed, 245  
 Trollope, A., notes by C. B. Tinker and R. W. Chapman on the text of *Phineas Redux*, 86  
 Ullmann, S., note on Composite Metaphors in Longfellow's Poetry, 219  
 Vaughan, H., *The Strange Case of 'Olor Iscarnus'*, article by H. R. Walley, 27; reply by F. E. Hutchinson, 320; article by L. C. Martin on *Henry Vaughan and 'Hermes Trismegistus'*, 301  
 Villains, *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron, Dickens*, article by E. E. Stoll, 257  
 Vincent, H. P., article on *Christopher George Colman, 'Lunatick'*, 38  
 Waith, Eugene M., note on Samuel Rowlands and *Humor's Antique Faces*, 213

- Walley, H. R., article on *The Strange Case of 'Olor Iscanus'*, 27
- Watkins, W. B. C., article on *The Two Techniques in 'King Lear'*, 1
- Walker, Alice, Summary of Periodical Literature, 126, 252, 381, 503
- Wardle, R. M., note on 'Timothy Tickler's' Irish blood, 486
- Warton, T., his influence on Coleridge, 51-4
- Wells, John Edwin, note on Thomson's *Agamemnon and Edward and Eleonora*—First printings, 478
- Willey, B., his *The Eighteenth-Century Background* reviewed, 118

- Williams, H., his introduction to *Gulliver's Travels*, 1726, by J. ed. H. Davis, reviewed, 356; and notice by, 236, 354, 498, and
- Wilson, J. Dover, paraphrase of Østerberg's interpretation of *'Kid in Æsop'*, 385
- Wordsworth, W., note by P. Si on an emendation in the t Wordsworth, 228
- Wright, B. A., review by, 232
- Young, Jean I., note on Ridd the *Exeter Book*, 308

)  
Introduction to  
726, by J. Swift,  
ed, 356; reviews  
54, 498, and 250  
paraphrase of V.  
tation of Nashe's

e by P. Simpson  
in the text of  
by, 232

on Riddle 8 of  
8

---

London and Beccles.